THE NEW REPUBLIC

Intellectual Slums

With Harvard looking for a dozen new professors to replace those co-opted by the Administration, bidding in the academic marketplace may be even more cut-throat than usual this spring. Our ebullient colleges will be looking for some 25,000 new teachers, while only about 5,000 PhD's are headed for college training. The 39 member-institutions of the American Association of Universities will hire the majority of these young scholars, and after nationally-known private residential liberal arts colleges have taken their share, precious few will be left over for the other 1,800 accredited institutions searching for faculty. The result will be to widen the chasm which already cuts between the haves and the have-nots in higher education. Equipped with a new phalanx of bright young men, the leading universities and liberal arts colleges will produce even more research next year than this, and will enhance their already immense national reputations. This will attract not only philanthropists, anxious to invest in "sound" institutions which will not squander their gifts, but also ambitious teachers and students with a similar motive. Such students, brought together in a relatively few fortunate communities, will develop their talents and follow in the footsteps of already successful alumni. Their university's coffers will swell with gratitude. Grown more prosperous, the university will no doubt establish more research centers, and by offering more joint teaching-research appointments which keep professors in class only a few hours each week, will lure the few scholars who remain at less eminent colleges. Such scholars will further enhance reputations of certain universities which then will get still more bright young men. And so to those that have more will be given. But then one turns to the colleges which have not pulled off such an academic revolution. These under- (Continued on page 3)

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Sail On!

★ Who can describe the new Washington? Washington is crackling, rocking, jumping! It is a kite zigging in a breeze, it is a city released from a heat wave. At first reporters glanced at each other in wild surmise, later they asked, "Do we really know this man Kennedy?" Now they gasp and hold on.

Just three months, yet it is hard to remember the fogged outlines of Eisenhower, or Christian Herter, or the Secretary of Commerce – let's see, what *was* his name? Forgotten already! Now there is a 16-point priority list of legislation, messages every other day, a try at better relations with Peking (no luck); with Moscow (uncertain); with Latin America (the new ingredient of social reform added to foreign aid). Seven press conferences, a dozen follow-up statements, television every other night, a firm stand on parochial schools (the current quip – "I wish the Catholics would quit picking on my President"). . . . All this and Caroline, too!

It is like a ship that Richard Henry Dana sailed on, a proud Cape Horner or stately Indianman, that is long becalmed. Suddenly the vacant winds flap, the crew comes up speculative, the breeze rises. "Sail!" cries the captain; the great vessel comes around, gains headway; the spars begin to talk, water ripples under the keel, she begins to fling foam from her bows. What a moment! Now under a pyramid of canvas the erstwhile listless vessel has come alive, clouds swaying overhead, the whack and rhythm alongside she moves gloriously through the water – dignity restored, bound for great destinies.

Last month's descriptions date quickly in this movement: the *Manchester Guardian* reporter caught the flair and elan of new Washington but wrote, "The most forlorn figure in the United States today is Adlai Stevenson" forgotten amidst America's "notorious fickleness." Absurd! Adlai Stevenson is having the time of his life, doing his most important service at the UN. "He has taken on Valerin Zorin, the Soviet delegate, in public debate and quietly plucked him naked," commented *NYTimes*man Reston last week.

Incidents tell the mood of the new Washington. Tall, handsome, dark-haired Ribicoff testifies in the barrack-like House caucus room for the new school bill, in desperate danger. All the old traps are sprung by polite Republicans. "Do you favor federal aid to parochial schools?" Ribicoff pauses. "I am absolutely opposed to it in any form," he says grimly. "I think it would be most tragic to include it."

Or Edward R. Murrow. He has given up $200,000 at CBS for a $21,000 job under Kennedy to head the US Information Agency. Now he is being interrogated by Senators at confirmation hearings. He slumps in his seat, sad-faced, dark, intense but controlled as Hickenlooper probes. Weren't those scenes in your celebrated documentary on migrant labor faked, Mr. Murrow? Murrow quietly says, No. Senator Capehart (R, Ind.) fussily backs Hickenlooper's view that USIA should tell only the nice things about America; it's like . . . well, it's like selling a Cadillac, isn't it? Murrow could say, Yes. But in a level voice he says, "We cannot conceal our difficulties or our controversies even if we would. We live in an open, pluralistic society. If we don't report them responsibly and accurately, somebody else will report them worse." They are doubtful but they vote for him.

Late-burning Lights

★ Then again, the Justice Department. Lights burn late in the windows. Part of it seems silly, boyish; "Bobby" sends notes of commendation to staff members whose license plates show they were present on Washington's Birthday (some of them had merely parked their cars while they shopped). There is a touch of Big Brother in Younger Brother. Even so, there is enthusiasm, here; commitment, energy. The Department's antitrust division throws the book at General Electric and Westinghouse in the rigged bids case.

Is Kennedy having an effect on politicians abroad? Berlin's Mayor Willy Brandt comes to town, sees the President, makes talks. Broad shouldered and powerful, he speaks colloquial English. As a talker he shifts weight from foot to foot in a movement which would creep him forward into the audience if not blocked by the podium. Brandt's scalp-lock is still a peninsula but it is in more danger of encirclement than West Berlin. But as to politics! It is unfair perhaps to compare Adenauer to Eisenhower, but here is another ambitious young man waiting to push out the older generation. The Washington wind is blowing in other countries.

Like Huntley and Brinkley

★ And now a little comedy relief: it is the big new TV weekly, the "Ev & Charlie" show. Senator Dirksen and Representative Halleck, the two minority leaders, stand before a battery of microphones in the dignified old Supreme Court chamber in the Capitol once a week while TV lights glitter on the chrome ice pitcher and they take potshots at the Administration in their individual styles. Honey-voiced Dirksen mellowly mourns; Halleck, looking like a barkeep in a tough district, uses the bung starter. It is a wonderful team, they change places at the mike like Huntley and Brinkley. If you want something laughable, try Ev; if you prefer the somber and horrendous, there's Charlie! The one thing that is lacking is the voice of Modern Republicans. But anyway, the recession is better, they say (*i.e.*, things are getting worse slower). "What we have to fear today about the recession is some of the proposals to cure it."

Yes sir, that's Washington! Something doing every minute. Kennedy moves so fast reporters lose track; this writer discovered to his surprise he had been out unreported four miles to a local TV station; making shots and practicing Spanish ardently. (He mispronounced "Bolivar" with accent on first rather than second syllable.)

What all this sounds like out there where you are, folks, I don't know. It's fun here!

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Intellectual Slums

developed colleges, like underdeveloped countries, are getting relatively poorer rather than richer. Nor will their troubles be overcome should the Congress agree to Mr. Kennedy's proposals for $2.75 billion in federal loans to colleges for construction of college facilities. For every increase in resources there is an even greater increase in student population, or an inflation of educational costs. Unable to afford scholars who would bring national fame, poorer colleges remain tied to their communities, rather than to the world of higher learning. In such a position they must try to educate almost any boy or girl who applies – and many will be applying. By the autumn of '66, as President Kennedy noted in his education message to the Congress, "an estimated one million more students will be in attendance at institutions of higher learning than enrolled last fall." Here again, the President's proposal to grant $577.525 million over five years for 212,500 scholarships and additional grants to the colleges which accept these students will have only a marginal impact on have-not schools. For the holders of scholarships normally run to the few, bigger-name campuses. Ever more unable either to attract or to retain the brightest students or scholars with PhD's in today's sellers' market, B- and C-grade institutions turn into mere upward extensions of high school, providing another diploma for the ambitious and a pretext for unemployment for the timid.

The plight of most students in these intellectual slums does not at first glance excite much sympathy. The majority are more interested in credits than ideas, and more likely to be found reading the sports page than the theater page. One cannot avoid the suspicion that Socrates himself would be unable to shatter their earnest complacency and genial myopia. Indeed, they often seem to get more attention from scholarly experts than they deserve, and it is for their teachers that one feels instinctive concern.

Nevertheless, not everyone in the academic backwoods "deserves" his fate. And in the good old days (1955), students with real aptitudes and will to learn still had a fighting chance of getting an education in B-grade colleges, for they were likely to meet an occasional scholar or intellectual holed up in one of the humanities departments, or perhaps in one of the less prosperous scientific fields. Such men had no time for research, and so no hope of moving to a better college, but they often justified their existence by "bringing along" the occasional bright student who came their way. They are, however, becoming as rare as the bald eagle. Young PhD's do not have to accept sweatshop wages and working conditions, for top colleges and universities are eager to sign them on. As a result, the student at a second-level college is increasingly confronted with an intellectual menu devoid of

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main courses. "Business English," taught by a young man whom IBM refused to hire, complements "Principles of Interior Decoration," taught by a woman who scarcely knows the Bauhaus from the White House.

But even when the bulk of its curriculum must reflect the middle-brow outlook of students and teachers, any place which calls itself a college needs to offer at least an occasional vista on the intellectual world. To meet this need some colleges have tried establishing a few well-paid professorships, and an undergraduate Honors program. Unfortunately, a college with a bad academic reputation has trouble attracting top men even if it offers adequate salaries, for most academicians care as much about their professional reputation as about their income. Many colleges trying to upgrade themselves have found that their $12,000-$14,000 chairs couldn't be filled. Other colleges have attempted to develop one or two show-case departments to offset their general mediocrity. If the department has a research reputation it is, of course, easier to get the faculty. But the general quality of intellectual life is likely to wither in a department which is but an oasis in the local Sahara. The staff will avoid students who are mostly mediocre and will direct its energy to research which links it to more congenial colleagues on the right side of the academic tracks.

The only workable solution – adopted by many of the big state universities – is to develop a reputable liberal arts faculty while allowing the rest of the professional and vocational programs to absorb the dull-witted students and unqualified teachers who are an inevitable byproduct of universal higher education. Logically, of course, there is no reason why a university should not develop a top school of Engineering or Education, while allowing the Liberal Arts to cater to a mediocre majority. But academic life is rarely logical, and the liberal arts and sciences apparently have to come first. There are, for example, plenty of bright engineering students and teachers, but they seem reluctant to enroll in a program sponsored by a college with a low national reputation. In practice this means they gravitate to colleges with top physicists and chemists, not colleges with top engineers. Similarly, although there are no more than half a dozen decent programs in Education in the whole country, several of these cannot get good students because they are not affiliated with reputable universities whose names will open doors to the future teachers. If you want to attract students and teachers to your School of Education, your best bet is apparently to hire famous historians and economists and literary critics, and forget about educators and educational research.

The obstacles to building up a distinguished Liberal Arts program are, of course, legion. But, as always, the most visible problem is money – and unfortunately, President Kennedy's recommendations do not include grants for college teachers' salaries. A low prestige college cannot raise its tuition (or tax subsidy) as high as its better-known competitors, and so it is faced with the hard choice between paying its teachers less, or having fewer of them. Until recently there has been an almost universal tendency to underpay rather than to understaff. A poor college with a thousand liberal arts students bringing in a million dollars annually from tuition and taxes has preferred a faculty of a hundred, which meant salaries from $4,000-$6,000 rather than a faculty of 50, which meant salaries from $6,000-$14,000. In part this was because the appearance of a scholarship could be bought for even $6,000. In part it was because most professors were convinced that if their students didn't spend some 18 hours each week in class, they would do nothing at all. But mostly it was because professors believed that every subject must somehow be "covered."

There are, however, signs of a change. Faced with a choice between two MA's at $4,000 and one PhD at $8,000, a growing number of deans and department heads are coming down for the latter. Faced with a choice between having their students spend 18 hours a week in classes averaging 40 students (which in practice means that most students have classes of 100, while a few have classes of 10), or nine hours a week in classes of 20 students, a growing number of faculty meetings have approved programs of "independent study" which would send students to class less, and to the library more. For the moment these schemes are largely confined to the more talented, but experience will no doubt help colleges discover that if reading lists are made demanding, three or four courses, meeting three hours weekly apiece, are more than enough to keep a student busy.

Of course, many professors still suspect that a student who is not in class is wasting his time, and take it for granted that the student who hears 18 lectures a week will know more at the end of four years than the student who hears only 12 lectures. Yet here and there people are noticing that some universities have produced rather well-educated citizens by giving them much longer reading lists and much shorter lecture schedules. The word has even got around that Harvard College has for a generation emulated the English, requiring less than 12 class hours weekly from most students. In both cases, the key to success seems to have been the students' opportunity to glimpse at close range men who inspired respect for curiosity and learning, men who, by example, induced the young to do some learning of their own. If talented students are to avoid mental starvation on the majority of American campuses, the institutions in question may have to arrange five or 10 hours a week of first-rate instruction, supplemented by first-rate books, to replace the 20 hours of boredom doled out so often by mediocrities.

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Feed Grains

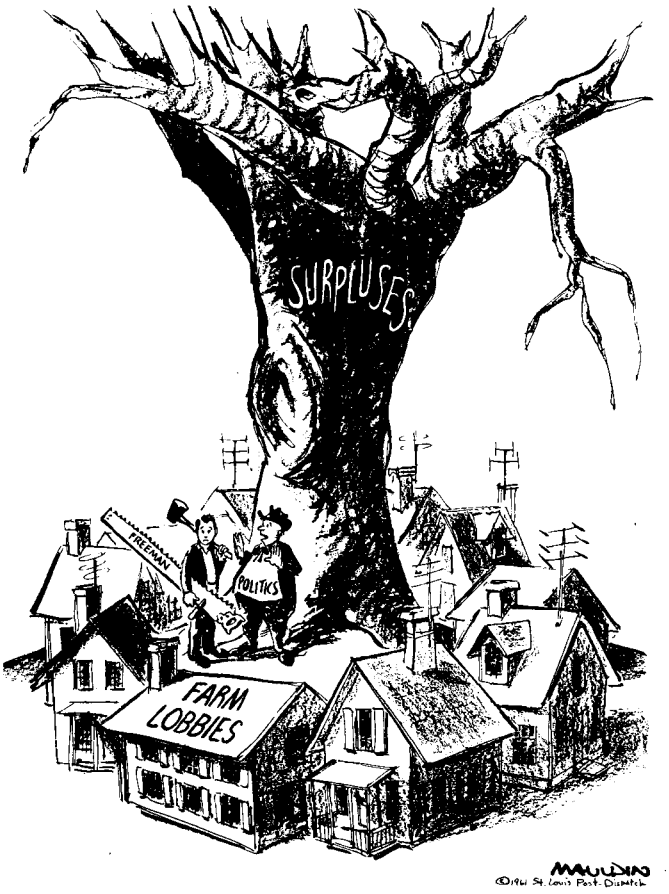
Differences between the House and Senate over the exact form which the Administration's emergency feed grain bill should take, have at last been ironed out – and none too soon. At the normal rate of production under the old law, enacted in 1958, the accumulation of feed grains in the Commodity Credit Corporation's stockpile would rise to about three billion bushels at the end of the present crop year. This would freeze approximately $4.5 billion of public funds and add substantially to the already heavy expense of storing these commodities. The policy of setting government-guaranteed prices on any crop *without* restriction of output has proved a failure. Modern agricultural technology yields such abundance that we are faced with the harsh alternatives of control by market forces, or by some form of regulation under law.

The compromise hammered out in the Congress gives President Kennedy what he and Secretary Freeman said firmly is required – the authority to raise the support-prices for corn and other feed grains grown by farmers who agree to reduce the acreage planted in such crops. And lest non-participating farmers should think that the reduced production would afford them – the holdouts – an opportunity to make a killing by raising unrestricted quantities of feed grains for sale in the open market, the Administration has been given the power to sell some of the government-held surplus at lower than market prices.

This last provision was the one that caused most of the delay, and for a curious reason that has not been much noticed. Most of our crops of food and fiber are produced by commercial farmers who have the outlook of small businessmen. They welcome a system of price supports; as a matter of fact they insist that farming is normally such a risky enterprise that they cannot do without government aid for the stabilization of prices. But on the other hand they very much dislike any action that limits the upward movement of prices under conditions of strong demand. What they like is a *floor* or minimum guaranteed level to keep prices from falling into the cellar; but nothing overhead to prevent them from soaring as high as the sky. It's very human, of course, but socially intolerable.

The new law represents an uneasy truce between desire and reality. Farmers who agree to reduce their feed grain acreage by 20 percent will be paid for this ungrown portion of their crop at the rate of one-half of their average yield in 1959-60 on those unplanted acres. If they choose to refrain from planting a further 20 percent of their feed grain acreage, compensation will be 10 percent higher, that is, at the rate of 60 percent of the average yield in the past two years.

Payment will be made to participating farmers in cash or certificates which entitle them to claim the equivalent value of government-owned feed grains in the CCC stockpile, at the option of the Secretary of Agriculture. Those who receive certificates can, if they like, turn them in for immediate cash payment. When they do so the Secretary is authorized to place the grain equivalent of those redeemed certificates on the open market without any price restriction. It is hoped that feed grain farmers will see the wisdom of refraining from unlimited production under such circumstances. At the same time it must be borne in mind that many farmers have already bought their supplies of seed corn and fertilizer. The new law would therefore have been more effective had it been passed by March 1st, as the Administration had requested.



"Just Be Sure It Doesn't Hit a Roof"

Kennedy's New Standard

The President's proposal for an administrative overhaul of the sprawling foreign aid structure and the creation of a consolidated aid agency under a new czar (probably the able ICA Director, Henry Labouisse) is long-overdue. And the streamlining recommended by the President is more than a superficial redesign of the structure; it will reshape the United States' foreign

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economic operations in a fundamental way.

In his final foreign aid message to Congress last year, Mr. Eisenhower stated the case for more selective assistance, emphasizing those areas – India, Pakistan, and Taiwan were mentioned – "where the determination and the will to progress are greatest and the capacity to use such resource effectively is greatest." Mr. Eisenhower, however, did little to give life to that concept. He did not seek support for an adequately-financed Development Loan Fund, despite pressure from within his own Administration, notably from Douglas Dillon, then Undersecretary of State. He frustrated the legislative initiatives of the then-Senator Kennedy, among others, to plan the financing of the DLF on a long term footing.

John Kennedy's approach reflects the knowledge that countries can plan their route toward economic growth only if they know how much fuel they will have for the journey. In place of the uncertainty of year-to-year Congressional appropriations, which make it extremely difficult to coordinate US assistance effectively with the long-term national plans of countries whose economies we wish to help strengthen, the President proposes five-year authority for the DLF to borrow directly from the Treasury. And he has done so, to his credit, in the knowledge that this businesslike approach is likely to meet powerful hostility from a Congress whose constituents are indifferent or antagonistic to foreign spending – and in the face of continuing military aid demands from the Pentagon.

There is another respect in which the President's message breaks with the past. Unlike the Eisenhower Administration, which at times seemed to go out of its way to lavish funds on rotten regimes, this Administration hopes to channel the greatest amounts to governments whose strength is rooted in popular consent and a nation-wide sense that the gains of progress are being equally shared. Countries benefiting must not only show the "will to progress" of which Mr. Eisenhower spoke. In addition to this minimum political test, Mr. Kennedy adds the criterion of social justice. Preference will go to governments which demonstrate (through tax reforms or the expansion of farm credit or loan programs for small business) that help from the United States will not be used in the main to help the rich get richer.

The importance of social justice as a criterion has been stressed for more than a decade by Justice William O. Douglas and Chester Bowles. (Undersecretary of State Bowles had just begun experimentally applying US leverage to induce Nepalese tax and land reforms near the end of his term as Ambassador to India and Nepal.) More recently the practicality of this new departure has been defended by the Ambassador-designate to New Delhi, John Kenneth Galbraith, in a widely-quoted *Foreign Affairs* article. He has added the further proviso that education as well as wider distribution of the benefits of progress is essential. "We may lay it down as a rule," he writes, "that there will be no durable, self-sustaining advance under conditions of widespread illiteracy and ignorance."

The Vote on Angola

By voting "aye" on March 15 to a UN Security Council resolution asking Portugal to "take steps to safeguard the rights and freedoms" of the inhabitants of Angola – the Congo's next-door neighbor – Ambassador Stevenson dismayed his European colleagues but brightened America's image elsewhere. It was not an impulsive gesture but rather a considered decision made by the President, consistent with his intention to identify the US with the aspirations of the "comers." It was arrived at after assessing the price that might have to be paid for it, including the possible loss of American military privileges in the Portuguese Azores. The vote calling for an inquiry into racial disorders in Angola last month was defeated in the Security Council but it may help induce Lisbon to concede enough soon enough to avoid having to concede everything later.

Mr. Stevenson did not, as some critics charge, suggest that freedom in Angola would or should bloom in full flower by next Wednesday, or that the transition from colonial dependence to a stable independence will be anything but arduous and hazardous. What he said was that independence is our aim and that solid foundation must be laid as rapidly as we can. A UN Liberian delegate said the speech "would reverberate throughout the world." The UN correspondent of *The Times of India* cabled back that "the new US policies have the effect of opening windows in a stuffy room [and] have washed away the dust and dirt which had fallen on the Statue of Liberty."

Angola is legally a West African "overseas province" of Portugal, with complete assimilation of the 4.5 million Africans the professed goal of the government. Officially there is no racial discrimination or exploitation. Yet a forced labor system makes hundreds of thousands of "non-civilized" people work at menial and degrading tasks, often at less than the $5 per month minimum wage. Poverty is overwhelming, education slight. Allegedly there is no mass discontent and no nationalism, but the exiled Union of the Peoples of Angola Party has long maintained a headquarters in Leopoldville in the Congo, and its president, José Gilmore, has for over a year been a director of the National Conference of African Peoples.

Henrique Galvao, chief architect of the *Santa Maria coup*, first became an opponent of President Salazar after a stint as colonial inspector in Angola. It was his report attacking forced labor in 1947 which led to his

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South Africa—Gone With the Wind

London

Dr. Verwoerd's decision that South Africa should not apply for membership in the British Commonwealth after becoming a Republic at the end of May confirms a fundamental change in the nature of the Commonwealth. The original member countries were largely populated by people of British origin, continually replenished to this day by immigration from Britain, and even the most persistent bad conduct cannot wipe out a relationship of blood.

With the decision of liberated India, Ceylon and Pakistan to join the Commonwealth as independent states in 1947 this relationship changed. Economic ties, though still there, were loosened. Britain's power to give military assistance to her partners dwindled. Yet with the single exception of Burma, every African and Asian country which has been liberated from British rule since the war has chosen of its own free will to retain a constitutional link with its old imperial master. The old white members are now in a minority, while in terms of population the colored members outnumber the whites by more than eight to one. When the material advantages of membership are so marginal, and are available also to non-members, like Eire, how has the old relationship managed to transform itself successfully in the case of the British Empire, while the newborn community in Africa is already breaking up before our eyes?

In my opinion the fundamental reason is that the informality of the Commonwealth enables it to perform the function of a club. At first sight this is not, perhaps, a very lofty role. But its value should not be underestimated in a world where diplomacy is increasingly paralyzed by public propaganda debates. The Commonwealth is the only framework within which major powers of Africa and Asia can keep permanently in touch with a major Western power at a level of personal intimacy which cannot be achieved by normal diplomatic means. Finally, Britain's relationship with the US and India's with the USSR and China give the Commonwealth a potential role in assuaging the conflicts of the Cold War.

But unlike the old family of white peoples, today's Commonwealth can exist as a multiracial club only on the basis of a minimum code of rules which includes the right to blackball a new candidate for membership – particularly when each member government is liable to attack by its domestic public opinion for consorting with undesirables. For a long time the British Government opposed this view, arguing that most Commonwealth countries had some skeleton or other in their cupboard and that the Commonwealth would break up if it permitted discussion of the domestic policies of its members. This argument never had even a theoretical validity: other Commonwealth governments could honestly say they were trying to end such evils as the caste system in India, while the South African Government upheld apartheid as its ethical ideal. But the practical case for the British Government's attitude was swept away in the "wind of change" which followed world revulsion at the Sharpeville shootings. From that moment Macmillan accepted the need to condemn apartheid, but hoped it would be possible for South Africa to stay in the family none the less. And when the Prime Ministers assembled in London for their Conference this month none of them was formally committed to get South Africa expelled. Then the whole structure was blown sky high by the publication of an article written by Julius Nyerere saying that if South Africa was a member of the club when Tanganyika became independent he could not recommend joining.

The big question is what will be the consequence for South Africa itself. So far as African opinion can be judged, there seems to be general delight that Verwoerd is now alone in the world. Most of the whites on the other hand seem to support Verwoerd's actions in London, although many of British origin are dismayed at their new status. The problem is no longer just apartheid – it is the whole concept of white supremacy, on which the vast majority of white South Africans support the Verwoerd government.

There is much anxiety in Britain about the future of the British Protectorates of Bechuanaland and Basutoland, those islands inside South African territory which are even more vulnerable than is Berlin in Eastern Germany. But the most immediate impact of South Africa's withdrawal will be felt in the Central African Federation, where the possibility of joining South Africa has always been at the back of the white settlers' minds in case Britain insisted on African majority rule in the northern territories. Though there has been a good deal of Afrikaner immigration since the war, the vast majority of the white settlers in the Federation are of British origin, and fusion with South Africa is a much less attractive option now that South Africa is out of the Commonwealth. Moreover, this demonstration of where white supremacy leads may bring more settlers to their senses in time.

The Commonwealth has at last accepted the implications of its new incarnation as a multiracial community. The long-term advantages of an institution which bridges the gulf between the West and Afro-Asia, between the committed and uncommitted nations are as important for the entire free world as they are for the Commonwealth countries themselves.

Denis Healey

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first arrest, and to his subsequent efforts to organize opposition forces in Portugal, South America and Angola. It was more than a coincidence that the *Santa Maria* episode, on this side of the Atlantic, was followed by anti-government riots in Angola. Galvao's subsequent statements favoring self-determination for the peoples of Portuguese Africa, coupled with the meetings held in Rome between his representatives and M. Gilmore, indicate that the two men plan to maintain close liaison in the future.

Dual Loyalties

The conflict of interest conundrum, brought to our attention once again by a plea from Senator Jackson's Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery that the Administration "do something," is going to be with us for a long time, for the root of the problem lies not in our admittedly archaic legislation, but in the nature of the society. As the Perkins Committee (of the New York City Bar Association) noted in its study, *Conflict of Interest and Public Service:* "As the line between private and public blurs into a broad gray band, the possibility of joint or over-lapping interests increases, [and] the whole premise of conflicts regulation begins to be undermined." That premise – dating from the mid-19th Century – held public and private business were easily separable. It is no longer valid.

The range of governmental functions is now nearly coterminous with those in the private sector. Housing, roadbuilding, aircraft construction, medical and scientific research, political and economic analysis, to name just a few, are all areas in which government has transactions with private citizens. The development of government-by-contract (*e.g.*, Air Force reliance upon a manufacturer to develop a missile system, or Senate Foreign Relations Committee contracts with universities for analysis of the organizational problems of the State Department) creates complexities that are only beginning to be perceived. One consequence is that much of the technical and scientific talent that must be drawn upon for intermittent governmental advice will be found to have commitments to particular "private" organizations, industrial or educational, that may be among the contenders for the research and development contracts upon which advice is sought. Then there is the growth of quasi-public establishments, such as RAND and IDA, whose work is governmental but whose pay scales and working conditions are private. How is the contracting agency of the government to evaluate the work it receives from outside if the conditions of government employment are inadequate to draw into the public side men capable of making the evaluations?

These problems will not be solved easily or immediately, and they will not be solved at all by rules designed to ease the most frequently discussed conflict: stock ownership and divestiture. They can be eased, however, by a recognition of the changed environment in which public employment exists, and a greater willingness to use administrative controls rather than the less flexible legislative ones upon which we have mainly relied so far. If Congress placed explicit responsibility for executive handling of dual-loyalty problems in the hands of the President, and granted him a broad range of discretion for delegated use by agencies heads – in the employment of temporary and intermittent experts, particularly – some of the cramping rigidities could be avoided without removing all safeguards to the integrity of the public service.

"More Money, More Learning?"

Leo J. Hertzel's article from The New Republic *of March 6 on "a new standard of excellence in education" is now available as a reprint.*

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What's a Platform For?

In the platform summarized by the chairman and adopted without a murmur by the Republican delegates at Chicago last summer, was a plank pledging support of federal aid for school construction. But when Senator Javits brought this up in the Senate recently, Senator Goldwater put into the *Record* a long dissent from President Ernest Wilkinson of Brigham Young University of Utah. President Wilkinson, a last-ditch foe of federal aid either for teachers' salaries or school construction, says that at Chicago he was the subchairman of the subcommittee dealing with education, science and technology, which considered federal aid. After three days and nights of wrangling, the subcommittee majority voted against any federal aid. But a minority report favoring such aid for school construction only, was presented to the full platform committee and adopted. And of course the platform committee's report was approved in toto by the full convention. Wilkinson says the dissidents debated whether to make a floor fight on the school-construction plank, but decided against it for lack of time, and, in effect, because

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they doubted whether it would be of any use.

Still angry this winter, he was asked by "certain delegates" to poll those who went to Chicago last summer on the subject. So he sent a ballot to all the 1,331 accredited delegates to the 1960 convention asking their view on federal aid – one ballot was on aid for salaries, one on aid for school construction, the plank which the convention adopted. Sixty-three percent replied. Three percent, or 23 out of 833 delegates, favored federal aid for teachers' salaries; 18 percent, or 147 out of 833, favored federal aid for school construction. Not a single state delegation, as now replying, showed a majority for either proposition.

Mr. Wilkinson claims that the poll constitutes an argument that "all patriotic Americans" regardless of party, should be against the "Socialist manifesto or Democratic platform" of Los Angeles.

But can a proposition be "socialistic" when it is in the Republican platform?

Aid in Reverse

The entrepreneurial exploits of the remarkable Dino Olivetti in Italy's postwar revival have been recounted in the United States (in part by Olivetti publicity men), but less-publicized is the ubiquitous typewriter magnate's contribution to the US economy in the form of a $51 million controlling investment in the Underwood Corporation. Since Olivetti took over the Underwood operation at Hartford, Connecticut, he has written a case study of aid in reverse – with European technology and management skill helping revitalize a sagging if not underdeveloped sector of American enterprise.

Production at the Hartford plant has been streamlined; unprofitable products have been eliminated; production has been concentrated on selected and tested products; the sales force has been retrained, and new models have been developed. The result has been an over-all reduction in the cost of production nearing 30 percent and last year a threefold production increase in equivalent units over 1959.

What is significant is that the infiltration of such foreign enterprise, far from sapping any economic vitality, appears to be pumping life into mediocre domestic entrepreneurship. The work force at the Hartford plant has jumped from a low of 2,500 in early 1960 to 3,300 at present. Wages went up five percent in 1960 and another five percent is projected for the current year. Exports are on the upgrade. To be sure, Mr. Olivetti is using Underwood channels to expand exports of his own Italian output to the US market. But the net effect has been helpful all around. Both national economies gain. More Olivettis – more technical assistance and investment by European business in the US – might help narrow our balance of payments gap.

Talking to the Japanese

After the anti-Security Pact demonstrations in Japan last year, the estrangement between the US and the Japanese Socialists (one out of every three voters) and the big trade unions could not be concealed. This rupture represented a complete reversal. During the Occupation Era, Socialists and Liberals were the "pro-Americans" whose aspirations and outlook were linked with Occupation reforms. Yet by 1960 many of the same people were parading through the streets of Tokyo protesting the American presence and demanding the scrapping of the Mutual Security Treaty.

As the US became increasingly identified in the 50's with conservative politicians and big business, the Left and the unions responded with suspicion, then outright hostility. In their view not only were we encouraging the rearmament of Japan which would make possible the rebirth of militarism – we had allied ourselves with men who were the prewar jailers of Socialists and trade unionists. As the Cold War grew in intensity the Japanese grew fearful of involvement in the rivalry between the two great powers, a fear that gave rise to strong neutralist and pacifist sentiments which the US embassy continued to minimize.

Not least among the manifold problems in Asia facing the new Administration is the restoration of sympathetic contact with the non-Communist Left in Japan. There has been, for all practical purposes, a complete break in communications with the Socialist Party and the Japan General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo). Both organizations contain moderates and extremists of various shadings; policies tend to shift and fluctuate with the changing situation. A major objective must be the resumption of relations with amenable elements within these groups. This is not an easy task. It has been a long time since the visit of a top Sohyo official to the US. One who would accept the invitation from the ICA to visit the United States would risk the strong disapproval of his peers. On the other hand some among the Socialist leaders are genuinely distressed over the current image of the Socialist Party as anti-American and pro-Communist.

The agreement by the Japanese Government to the President's designation of Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard as our ambassador-designate is thus especially fortunate. Professor Reischauer is America's foremost authority on Japanese culture and language, is widely respected in both conservative and socialist circles and understands with compassion the complexities of the Japanese scene. The formal announcement by the White House last week of his appointment offers promise of a resumption of the "broken dialogue" which he deplored in a most significant *Foreign Affairs* article ("The Broken Dialogue with Japan") following the Tokyo riots of 1960.

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Rally Round the Republicans

What the Republicans badly need now, I think, is an authoritative national voice that can speak for the whole party. For example, if Kennedy revives the "fireside chats" the GOP will demand equal time, but if it gets time who will do the talking? Let's see, there is Dirksen . . . Halleck . . . Bridges . . . Nixon . . . Goldwater . . . Rockefeller . . . Which is the authentic spokesman for the opposition?

Perhaps it might not have occurred to you that the State of the Union speech would "insure gleeful shouts of joy in the corridors of the Kremlin," but that is what a faithful band of the House GOP Policy Committee declared immediately after delivery. Messrs Halleck and Dirksen have instituted joint weekly press conferences which are pleasant, cozy affairs and produce from Dirksen such poetic statements as his declaration that Kennedy's recommendations are having no more effect on Congress than "a snowflake settling upon the waters of the Potomac."

Columnist Roscoe Drummond, who often writes yearningly of the GOP, deplores the way they are allegedly "literally throwing away their most effective instruments of party strength" by neglecting to name competent professional staffs for their Congressional committees. But after all, their present mood is not to burden themselves with intellectuals but just to vote "No" with the Dixiecrats.

Every defeated party suffers temporary shell-shock and it has been worse this year because the result was so close. People could have forgiven Nixon for losing by a landslide but to come so close and not win is an affront to everybody. Blaming the unfortunate Californian has been a favorite parlor game of the Republicans all through this winter. But no one ever wins that game.

Well, we must all rally 'round. For all their faults we need the Republicans. We can't run America without them. The two-party system works better if the opposition is strong and articulate. Our parties will probably never have the clarity of European parties, but we do have the right to expect what Clinton Rossiter calls "a modest but meaningful confrontation of liberalism and conservatism." Instead Kennedy is occupying a broad center position and Republicans are threatened with a split between their conservative leadership in Congress and their more moderate leadership outside, represented by Governor Rockefeller, other state officials and, yes, Nixon himself.

How did Democrats handle it after their own last defeat, in 1956? Just three weeks after the election irrepressible chairman Paul Butler summoned his 14-man executive committee to Washington where it set off a bombshell – it voted to establish a 17-member National Advisory Council. The idea outraged Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn. Senator Byrd wailed, "The whole movement is very ill-advised, will create confusion and conflict, and be of no value."

Butler went right ahead. Adlai Stevenson helped: "To be an effective opposition the Democratic Party must have a broader base than the Democrats in Congress," he said. He and Truman joined the Council. Butler brought in experts, many aiding Kennedy now – Galbraith, Nitze, Acheson and others. The Council gave continuity and national identity. In the Little Rock crisis in 1957, when it otherwise might have been identified with Governor Faubus of Arkansas, the Advisory Council boldly disassociated itself from Faubus and segregationism.

Rayburn and Johnson boycotted the Council to the end. Did that faze Butler? Not the least. Four liberal Senators did join – Kefauver, Symington, Humphrey and Kennedy himself. Today the Democrats have their own forum in the White House and the Council has been dropped. Too bad, say some, but maybe there aren't enough professors to go around. The new "out" party, the Republicans, has few experts and no national voice. Once again the conservative Congressional leadership – this time of the GOP – is trying to speak for the whole party.

This probably can't last. Already it is announced that Eisenhower and Nixon have been invited to consult the legislative leaders in Washington. Maybe Rockefeller will come in time. It is quickly added, however, that GOP policy "will continue to be made here." Some GOP leaders in Congress would rather control the party machinery than win the next election.

Way back in 1937 the GOP National Committee set up a "program committee" under Glenn Frank that issued some high-sounding statements. Still earlier, in 1920, Will Hays established an "Advisory Committee on Policies and Platform" with 171 members. Paul Butler's idea wasn't new.

The Republicans haven't asked for advice but here it is anyway. Our parties are getting more national all the time with a greater continuity of operation and staffs that function more and more between elections. The nation is safer with a strong opposition; it would have helped Eisenhower to have had more criticism and now that the press has found its tongue again it will be good for Kennedy. The GOP has a magnificent will to oppose, all it needs is a pulpit, a spokesman and something to say. To get this a national advisory council of some sort would help a lot. Maybe it could hire Paul Butler.

RICHARD LEE STROUT

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Neutralism – The Tito Brand

by Paul Willen

The news that President Tito of Yugoslavia had been extended an invitation to visit the new President of Brazil came as something of a shock to official Washington, which at the very moment was mounting a new offensive in Latin America to contain the very doctrines President Tito embodies. In spite of growing acceptance, "in principle," of neutralist solutions to world problems, the general practice remains one of yielding to neutralist victories only when confronted with a *fait accompli.*

That Tito was selected by President Quadros as the initial agent by which to announce a change in policy is historically appropriate. No nation is as closely identified with "neutralism" as is Yugoslavia, and, indeed, as a modern ideology, neutralism may be said to have been born on Yugoslav soil. It is possible to identify the exact date of its birth: June 28, 1948, when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform.

The significance of this event can best be appreciated when one recalls that only five years earlier Churchill and Stalin had arbitrarily divided Yugoslavia between themselves, 50-50, in the immemorial tradition of great powers. In 1945 Churchill lost his 50 percent, and in 1948 steps were taken to deprive Stalin of his share. To the outside world the question seemed simple: to which side will Yugoslavia swing? Back to the Soviet camp, or over into the Western alliance? The possibility that both alternatives would be rejected was not taken seriously. Even the Yugoslavs were uncertain, seeking re-entrance into the Cominform one day, flirting with the idea of close Western ties the next. In time, however, the Yugoslavs (with Edward Kardelj, as always, playing a large role in these theoretical innovations) evolved an ideology tailored to fit an unprecedented situation: a small power without established connections to a larger power bloc. The result was that eclectic set of doctrines, composed of terms such as "co-existence," "no-interference," "the rights of small nations" and "own road," which we know today as neutralism, the ideology of power for small nations who are on the make.

The significance of Kardelj's achievement lies in the fact that he did not merely defend Yugoslavia's sovereign rights, but generalized these rights into a theory which was to govern relations between all nations, large and small. *The Yugoslavs were thus not merely asserting the right of a small nation to be left alone, but, much more important, the right of small nations, alone or in concert, to exercise world power.* This authority derives from the simple logic that, having established certain basic rights for small nations, the new nations have the privilege, even the duty, to intervene in world councils to enforce those rights. In some cases (most notably, in Algeria, in the Congo and earlier, in Hungary), the neutralist ideology justifies direct intervention in internal affairs in order to establish these principles. This may seem a paradoxical, even contradictory, position, but it evolves logically from Kardelj's initial premises. This was the distinction to which the Yugoslavs referred when they declared their policy to be one of "active" or "positive" neutralism. Their neutrality was not to be confused with indifference, isolationism or disentanglement; on the contrary, it was an ideology of action, of strong embroilment, designed to augment power and influence.

For Yugoslavia these doctrines were initially the enforced refuge of a desperate position; in time, however, as India and Indonesia assumed similar viewpoints, and Yugoslavia began to emerge from its 1948-53 isolation, neutralist theories shifted from a defensive to an offensive bias. In Yugoslavia the shifts were given formal doctrinal codification; in India the new concepts evolved more slowly, more pragmatically. By the late 1950's, when the transformation of Africa was at hand, the *ad hoc* notions of neutralism had hardened into a set of fixed principles, to be adopted, like constitutions, with the assumption of statehood.

What Yugoslavia has decisively demonstrated was that alienation from one camp did not necessarily mean surrender to another; that massive military and financial assistance from one bloc did not necessarily bring with it renewed political domination; that small countries, with modest resources, could assert their right to participate in decisions formerly reserved only for great powers; that there was a cultural and economic middleground between orthodox Communism and strict capitalism; and that all of this, in turn, depended on a strong local political organization, firmly controlled by a vigorous central leadership.

It was difficult to believe, in the early and mid-50's, that "Titoism" could last, and observers, both Eastern and Western, wrote it off as a lost cause dozens of times, only to realize, with renewed surprise, that it had retained its independence in spite of the most intimate contact with the "other side." Even to-

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PAUL WILLEN, *a specialist in East European affairs, has visited Yugoslavia frequently.*

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day the lessons of this experience have only been partially digested in both Moscow and Washington, as the experience of Cuba and the Congo so clearly indicates.

That these accomplishments were possible only in the context of the East-West struggle, in which one side could be played off against the other, goes without saying; that there are strong elements of hypocrisy and deceit in neutralist doctrine (particularly with regard, for example, to the East European countries, about whose independence the neutralists have ambiguous feelings) is also quite clear; and that neutralism frequently represents the moral camouflage for an essentially aggressive drive for national expansion (in lieu of the direct military power to enforce such aims) cannot be denied.

There can be no question, for example, that Yugoslavia would have accepted Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe if, within that hegemony, Yugoslavia's special position in Southeast Europe had been recognized by Moscow. Nor can it be doubted that both Nasser and Nkrumah entertain hopes of peacefully carving out large areas of influence for themselves in Africa under the moral protection of neutralist doctrines (much as the Monroe Doctrine protected the United States in its period of expansion), and that they are encouraging a consolidation of African forces which, in the long run, may constitute the best hope of continued African independence. Nor can it be doubted that without continuing Soviet support for these aims, these expansionist policies would crumble overnight; neutralism, without Soviet support, would have no more substance in international policies than the Monroe Doctrine would have had in the 19th Century without the support of the British Navy.

That, under these circumstances, neutralism is sometimes confused with Soviet expansionism is not surprising. But Yugoslavia's position is a uniquely complex one. It is the only neutralist power whose own opportunities for expansion are not confined to areas where Western positions are involved. On the contrary, Yugoslavia has a necessary and continuing interest in the future of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe. This, plus its economic-political divergences from Soviet orthodoxy and its close cultural ties with the West, accounts for the fact that it is the only neutralist power with real difficulties in its Moscow relationship. Moreover, as a relatively advanced European power, with more than half of its labor force in non-agricultural employment, it is in direct competition with the Soviet bloc for such affection and loyalty as can be won in Africa and Asia through the dispatch of capital and technical know-how. In this competition Yugoslavia suffers from the comparative weakness of its industrial resources, but it has certain advantages, most important of which is its sense of identification with the countries to which it is extending aid. Yugoslavia is both a European *supporter* of neutralists, and a *neutralist* as well.

The exact extent of Yugoslavia's influence among its allies is hard to assess. In 1956 Tito attempted to modify Nasser's violent reaction in the Suez crisis (advising him to pay more attention to internal growth, leaving external aggrandizement to a later stage); and this counsel of "restraint now, action later" may be Tito's quiet message now as he tours African capitals. On the other hand, Yugoslavia's participation in the campaign against Dag Hammarskjold has not been an inspiring spectacle; nor can one admire the unreserved encouragement it has apparently given those elements in African politics which, in their haste to assert power, have miscalculated the actual force available to them, thus creating a dangerous void, which American or Soviet power might try to fill.

In a strong statement on February 24, the Yugoslavs accused Moscow of a "patronizing attitude" toward the backward countries, a parochial approach toward their problems (overemphasizing the role of the local Communist parties), and an egotistical view of the origins of the anti-colonial revolutions (as if they were merely offshoots of the socialist camp). All of these charges add up to one basic indictment: that the Soviet leaders do not fundamentally accept the independence of the neutralist powers, and still seek means of tying them organically and ideologically to the Soviet bloc. Thus Moscow tends to minimize the indigenous non-Communist origins of the new states, while the Yugoslavs and their allies emphasize their own organic and spiritual background.

Thus it is clear that if Washington is not always of one mind concerning the neutralist movement, neither is Moscow, which has its own Brazils to worry about. Yugoslavia is perhaps more sensitive than its allies to the dual nature of Soviet ambitions in Africa, and is aware of the Russians' disappointment over their ability to control or guide the new nations for whose independence they have given so much support.

The deterioration of Western positions in Africa has not been accompanied by that vast increase in Soviet strength Moscow had optimistically anticipated. The vacuum that many Americans had hoped to fill with their good will, and ambitious Russians with their high-powered administrative techniques, has simply not materialized (except in the Congo, a temporary situation). Instead, vigorous new regimes are arising.

A year ago Washington and Moscow challenged each other to a "peaceful competition" for supremacy in Africa; today the first round in that competition is over, and, like the outcome of the Churchill-Stalin deal 15 years ago, both sides appear to have "lost." In this failure of the Great Powers lies Yugoslavia's own quiet ideological victory, the triumph of 1948 spread over a large part of the globe.

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Carry Me Back

Some Notes on Barry Goldwater

by Gilbert A. Harrison

"Is it an earthquake or simply a shock
Is it the good turtle soup or merely the mock . . .
Is it for all time or simply a lark
Is it Granada I see or only Asbury Park?"
– COLE PORTER

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Human Events advertises fluorescent Goldwater bumper stickers, Goldwater buttons and "for business and social wear distinguished 'G' for Goldwater" lapel pins – 10-carat gold-filled – $3 each. You may also send for a full-color portrait of the Senator, "together with an inspiring statement of his credo and platform from 'The Conscience of a Conservative' – combined to create a postcard with REAL POLITICAL IMPACT." A Goldwater for '64 club has been organized in Tucson, Arizona. It supplies automobile bumper stickers at 10 cents each. "Senator Goldwater," its appeal reads, ". . . is the leader capable of creating the enthusiasm needed to accomplish [conservative government]." *The National Review* identifies him as "the undisputed leader of the conservative movement." Edward P. Morgan finds him "fresh and amiable, good humored and strikingly good looking." Marquis Childs writes that he is "the hottest stock on the political Bourse . . ." And to Westbrook Pegler, the Junior Senator from Arizona is "the greatest true living Republican."

The greatest and truest, perhaps. But not the most palatable to many of his fellow-Republicans. Last week, the official GOP leadership in the Congress declined to name him a permanent member of its Policy Committee. He is not exactly a black sheep. The Republicans (with the possible exception of some East Coast liberals, like Jacob Javits) are glad to acknowledge him as a member of the family. But they don't want him coming to dinner every night, or sitting at the head of the table.

How much the Goldwater cult is a creation of the frenzied few plus TV producers and journalists in search of "good copy" (someone who will say something provocative) cannot be measured. But it is a fair guess that his publicity far exceeds his popularity.

What is Goldwaterism? But first, who is Senator Goldwater? He is the father of three and the current, national symbol of what his supporters call a conservative revival. The adjective is a misnomer, since Goldwater opposes conserving most of the major governmental programs of the last several decades, but there's no law requiring accurate labeling of political packages. The Goldwater platform is: the less federal government, the better. But platform is a misnomer too. Nor will policy do. This statement is more in the nature of a First Commandment. His is a "philosophy" only in the sense that it uses words like rights, nature, principle. It is buttressed by neither facts nor logic. It invokes "history" for sanction, but not the experiences of history, for it is essentially hostile to applying the lessons of the always-changing past to the problems of the present.

Barry Goldwater is 52. He is Arizona-born and bred. He went to Staunton Military Academy and put in two semesters at the University of Arizona. *Time* magazine describes him as "boss of four prospering Arizona department stores developed from a business started by a Jewish peddler grandfather. . . ." He is now Chairman of the Board. He was a pilot during World War II, still holds his reserve commission, and is the only Senator licensed to fly a jet. He served on the Phoenix City Council. He is an Episcopalian, a Mason, a Shriner, an Elk, a Moose, an Eastern Star, a member of the Alianza, the VFW, the American Legion, the Woodmen of the World, and Eta Mu Pi. He is also a Sigma Chi and he believes that the fraternity system is "a bastion of American strength."

He was elected to the Senate in 1952, re-elected in 1958 and is a member of several important committees. But his reputation is not that of a legislative architect. He is more of an outside than an inside man. He is in great demand as a speaker, and usually is billed as a man of conviction; that is, he speaks earnestly of the importance of conviction. He is also billed as a man of principle; that is to say, the only concessions he makes, and he makes a great many, are to the Right.

He has had a book published – *The Conscience of a Conservative* – which, according to its cover, "every American who loves his country should read. . . ."

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Newsweek reports that when it comes to writing the Senator "acknowledged candidly that he was leaning heavily on Stephan Shedegg, his campaign manager and speechwriter," and one columnist alleges Goldwater wrote little of *The Conscience of a Conservative.* But, as the Senator has said on the matter: "At least the ideas will be my own." The book is a tract contrasting "conservative" with "liberal." Neither character is sharply delineated; some say that neither bears much resemblance to the real article. For example, the Senator asserts that, "Liberals tend to look only at the material side of man's nature." Or, "liberals . . . regard the satisfaction of economic wants as the dominant mission of society." (Reinhold Niebuhr?) "Man's development . . . is not something that can be directed by outside forces." (Not the church, the family, the school, the courts, the legislatures or changes in the weather?) "The conscience of a conservative is pricked by *anyone* who would debase the dignity of the individual human being." (The House Un-American Activities Committee? TV producers?) Dean Acheson and Arthur Larson *(A Republican Looks at His Party)* think "that the State is competent to do all things. . . ." None of this true, but truth and conviction are not synonymous.

> "These businessmen and lawyers were very adroit in using a word with fine and noble associations to cloak their opposition to vitally necessary movements for industrial fair play and decency. They made it evident that they valued the Constitution, not as a help to righteousness, but as a means of thwarting movements against unrighteousness." – THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Arguing such points with the Senator would produce little clarification. Many have tried to debate with Senator Goldwater. It is a little like running a race with a man who is running on a different track. For example, if he were to say that the moon is made of green cheese and therefore there is no point in sending a man to the moon because what could we do with green cheese – *you* might reply: "But the moon isn't made of green cheese." Or, if you are more cautious, "I don't *think* it is, and anyway let's find out." Now how would he reply to that? He wouldn't reply at all. He would merely restate the self-evident proposition that the moon is made of green cheese. This is an old device, long a favorite of politicians, the device of proof by definition. Thus, one sets forth a premise (it is not described as a premise, it is described as a fact): the more government, the less freedom. To anyone interested in genuine discussion, that is a proposition to be tested against experience. For example, was Hitler the result of too powerful a Weimar regime? Was Lenin the result of too powerful a Kerensky regime? And by freedoms precisely what is meant? These would be questions to consider in debate. But one does not engage Mr. Goldwater on these grounds.

He very devoutly believes that power corrupts. Some power. Not the power to run a business without governmental interference. Not the FBI's power. Not the power of the 50 states – that should be increased. The power that corrupts is wielded by labor unions and the federal government. Each battens on the greedy side of our natures. In return for their favors, we give them our souls, and thus we swing "down the well-traveled road to absolutism." The nation today is menaced by "a Leviathan, a vast national authority out of touch with the people and out of their control. This monolith of power is bounded only by the will of those who sit in high places." Not high places in New York or Pittsburgh or Detroit, not in state legislatures, not in General Motors or the headquarters of the American Medical Association. In Washington.

Mr. Goldwater fears "the accumulation of power in a central government that is remote from the people" – remote geographically. He seems to believe that the nearer one is *physically* to the "seat of power," the more he is in the driver's seat. A really "free" nation would be governed to the maximum extent possible by the smallest possible units – beginning with the family, then perhaps the Town Meeting. The disenfranchisement of people in the states through gerrymandering and rotten boroughs, the corruption of the cities are something to which he never alludes.

There are no new frontiers. They've all been settled (with the help of the federal government and its policy of free land, it might be added). "Why must now our nation," he asked the Utah State Convention of the Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1960, "be radically altered because of what is called the crisis of our times? The basic problems are no different in our times than under Lincoln or Washington. . . . We have merely changed the horse for a tractor, the hand tools for a machine." The change, one gathers, is trivial. Why do we have recessions? Well, today, "because of the lack of confidence engendered by spendthrift promises of the Democratic platform." How are we losing our freedoms? By choosing to spend money – or part of it that is collected by the federal government – to eradicate slums, to rebuild our cities, to provide housing, to control floods, to improve education and supply electric power through TVA (all of which Senator Goldwater has voted against).

His fundamentalism permits no distinction between the electorate deciding to do what it wants done and to pay for it through taxation, and what he calls "giving the people's money away." He believes that the recipient of "welfarism" concedes to the government "the ultimate in political power – the power to grant or

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withhold from him the necessities of life as the government sees fit." In this, his views are not dissimilar to those of Marxists who think that in a capitalist society there can be no genuine freedom of choice, for the people are never the exploiters, only the exploited; democratic choice is a delusion; there is no two-way relationship between the government and the people.

Either/Or. Never both. Freedom is a favorite Goldwater word; but here too, as in his consideration of power, he is selective. He is appalled that workers in some industries are not free not to belong to a union, or that the freedom to bargain industry-wide is tolerated. The freedom to bargain collectively seems to him a lesser "right"; and perhaps a "wrong." He fears "the enormous economic and political power now concentrated in the hands of union leaders," though he shows no fear of any concentration of power in the hands of corporate officials. Right-to-work laws are good because they "derive from the natural law." He does "not want to deny labor the right to strike," but neither does he "want it to tamper with freedoms of you and me" – which it is bound to do when it strikes. He saw liberty threatened when it was proposed last year to allow the Secretary of Labor to regulate the conditions of employment of all US migrant agricultural workers; his vote against could have been cast on broad principle, or on the narrower grounds that Arizona farmers have benefited by their freedom to hire this cheap labor. He has spoken of his dream "that businessmen will finally wake up to their responsibilities and take an interest in government regardless of party." But he thinks the federal government should not permit labor unions to contribute to campaigns. From the premise that we are all equal in the sight of God, he concludes that we ought to be unequal in the sight of man. Except for tax purposes; there he wants equality: "Government has a right to claim an equal percentage of each man's wealth and no more" – *i.e.*, from a $500,000 a year income take $250,000; from a $5,000 income take $2,500. He finds it unfair that richer states should be taxed for the benefit of poorer states. Or that rich men should be taxed to support the impoverished; in this way men are robbed of their dignity.

> "I do not undertake to promote welfare, for I propose to extend freedom."
>
> – *Conscience of a Conservative*

"Compulsion" is another Goldwater word. The Social Security system is "compulsion." The President's program for medical care for the aged is "compulsion." But again, only certain "compulsion" is wrong. He is not against traffic laws, not against *all* taxation, not against compulsory school attendance; not against the more subtle compulsion that employers exert on employees by virtue of their power to grant or withhold work, not against the compelling power of advertising.

He adopts the same selectivity on civil rights. The only one he recognizes as properly ordained is the one "that is mentioned in the Constitution" – the right to vote, and he is for it all the way. He told Sen. Eugene McCarthy in a recently televised radio debate that he thought "that last year in the session of Congress we did put adequate laws on the books to take care of this." Last year, he voted against an amendment sponsored by Senator Holland of Florida for a Constitutional amendment to ban the poll tax in federal elections. He also opposed a Constitutional amendment to permit the District of Columbia residents to vote in Presidential elections.

He is sensitive to the charge of negativism and seems lately to have pondered the dilemma of a man who is dissatisfied with both parties but knows that unmitigated obstruction is a political dead-end. "Conservatives must formulate positive programs...." Goldwater has formulated one, S991, introduced in the Senate on February 20 of this year. It is his alternative to all other programs to aid education. It is a curious proposal. "If money is the answer to our education problems, and I don't think it's money," he has said, "I think it's quality, but if money is the answer, then I propose to introduce a piece of legislation very shortly that will give the money to provide better education in the states." But if money is not the answer, why give the money? In a recent article Mr. Goldwater wrote for the *Saturday Review* the same inherent contradiction is to be found: "The states and local communities have been rapidly solving the backlog problem in their own way and with their own money." When he mentions school problems, he adds parenthetically "if they really exist...." And with this as a preface, he proceeds to outline his plan under which all property-owners in the country would be given a tax rebate on their federal income taxes up to $100 a year, or less, the amount to represent what that property-owner has paid locally in taxes to support elementary and secondary public schools. To repeat, if the schools don't need money, why the proposal? If they do, how will such a rebate benefit the schools? Mr. Goldwater is not suggesting that these rebates be turned over to the states to be spent on education. They are to be pocketed by the individual property-owner and spent in any way he chooses, or saved. It is an interesting technique for increasing consumer demand, but its relevance to education is hard to discern.

The justification, presumably, is "freedom"; the less the federal government taxes, the more money the individual pockets and the more he pockets the freer he is to spend on more things. And he *could* choose to spend more for education. Though how he would do this without being taxed more heavily by *municipal*

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and *state* governments is unclear, since few individuals by themselves can build a school or hire a teacher.

This preoccupation with who takes or keeps money (in the name of spiritual values) carries with it an inference that the "best" money is money that stays home, that there is something purer, more American about money that is collected by and *stays* in Arizona than money collected and distributed by Washington. One is given to imagine that dollars collected by Washington are loaded on boxcars and taken from here to there and back again. And in the process of transportation, some gets lost. "Now," he asks, "how much better would it be for the State of Arizona to spend the entire $1.2 million on the problems at hand at home instead of having to come clear to Washington and all the way back." Money gets tired traveling so far. Moreover, money spent by Washington is "spent on national waste." The same money spent by Mr. Jones or Mr. Smith or a state legislature or a city council is *not* wasted.

But it's not just a matter of "waste," it's the principle of the thing. Thus, although the government of the United States would have to expend (through tax rebates) as much as $4 billion a year if Mr. Goldwater's "education" proposal were enacted, and the cost of the Kennedy aid-to-education program would be less than $3 billion for the first *three* years, the Goldwater plan is preferable because under his plan there would be "no compulsion" to do anything about education.

For all his words about the danger of "leaning on" others, the Senator is of course himself a product and beneficiary of the labors of others and has leaned very comfortably on the enterprise they created – Goldwater's, Inc. of Phoenix. His affirmation of conscience is as much an affirmation of class interest. He is no traitor to his class. The practical end toward which Goldwater strives is the enlargement of opportunities for businessmen to make and keep money. And since it is federal income, corporate and excise taxes that hit businessmen hardest, he wants these cut as much as possible.

> "We could not fail to learn, from the demonstrations of the results of our experiment in popular government, that the Constitution was made for the people and not the people for the Constitution; and that there is no rigid and fixed formula that can be applied to the changing processes of the daily life of a nation. . . . It is not perhaps too much to say that we would not have survived the first century of our existence under a strict application of the written letter of the Constitution. Its most remarkable feature is its elastic flexibility and its latent power through which it has been enabled to conform to the necessities, the passions, and the aspirations of the people." – THE HON. J. J. INGALLS *of Kansas, President of the Senate, on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Constitution.*

But no true believer in Goldwaterism sees his "philosophy" as an expression of concern for businessmen. And it would not do for Goldwater to see it in these terms. Helping those who need no help to help themselves to more is no formula for political victory. It must be put in terms of God helping those who help themselves. And the Senator is something of an authority on God's will. He would rather we "quit thinking of ourselves as Americans and call ourselves children of God, for our strength comes from God." (Khrushchev's too?) The reason why "government must be with the consent of the governed" is because "this is one of the immutable laws of God." Why is an individual free? "Because he was endowed by his Creator." But the question that has puzzled generations of soul-searchers, and still does, is "how shall we know God's will?" Senator Goldwater replies: it is in the Constitution of the United States. But what is the Constitution? What is revealed to Barry Goldwater. He perceives in that great document clear and unchanging meanings – not to be confused with Supreme Court decisions. He does not "look on the judgment of the Supreme Court as the supreme law of the land," for "the Constitution is what its authors intended it to be and said it was – not what the Supreme Court says it is." Nor does he "buy the idea that because general welfare is mentioned in the Preamble and in Section Eight of the Constitution or Article Eight of the Constitution that it charges the federal government with doing this [aid to education]." The courts, the Congress, the Executive, the voters have bought the idea – but this only proves how far we have strayed from the path. "It is both wise and just for Negro children to attend the same school as white," he acknowledges, yet "the Constitution does not permit any interference whatsoever by the federal government in the field of education." (Nor any authority to assure that food is pure, or highways are built, or TV channels are licensed.) If Senator Goldwater had lived in 1803 he would surely have asked Mr. Jefferson to show him where in the Constitution the federal government was given the right to purchase Louisiana.

Now Mr. Goldwater is not a lawyer. And although he has said that "a man who is not a student of liberal arts is not an educated man," he carries the mantle of scholarship lightly. He told the NAACP in Tucson on October 12, 1955, that among our inalienable rights "are life, liberty and pursuit of freedom. I believe that we should recognize these great words of Jefferson." Jefferson could have said that, but nobody has been able to discover that he has. And when Goldwater agrees with "Thomas Jefferson, one of the great heroes

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of his party, who said that the least government was the best government," he again is agreeing with something Jefferson might have said, but one can only be sure something like it was said by Thoreau.

Now it's nothing against a Senator that he is neither a Constitutional lawyer, nor a historian, nor even a clear thinker. Lasting contributions have been made by many who were none of these. What has concerned some people, with their eye more on the Goldwater camp-follower than on the Senator, is whether he would or could lead a neo-McCarthy crusade. It is apparent that Goldwater has inherited the followers of Joe McCarthy, but he is not the same breed. Joe had something of the carnival roustabout in him. Cards fell out of his sleeve when he dealt. Goldwater is well-dressed, well-mannered, well-heeled and his colleagues find him honorable; that is, when he gives his word he keeps it. If the McCarthyites are to have a spokesman, he is a far more presentable and decent and even reasonable one than the man who thought General Marshall played with treason.

Still he must keep his more fanatical support happy. He cannot ignore the passions of the McCarthyites – and he does not: "You have to move into the educated group before you find Communism." That is a tasty morsel for the anti-intellectuals. Kennedy's thinking and campaigning, he told one audience "are based on cowardice, weakness and distrust of the American people's ability to think for themselves." When asked to explain poor acoustics at the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles in 1960, he said that "they were all part of the cleverly concealed socialistic apparatus that has taken over the Democratic Party . . ." That had the McCarthy conspiratorial tone. He told *The National Review* after the campaign that he felt that "neither Nixon nor Lodge emphasized Communism enough." And he has said he believes US "leaders, both political and intellectual, are searching desperately for means of "appeasing or 'accommodating' the Soviet Union. . . ."

But is this McCarthyism? It lacks the rasp, and perhaps the cynicism. And, for all the force with which he attacks the bipartisan Establishment (welfarism), he is a politician who offers himself not to be sacrificed but as a servant to be rewarded. He may believe he is being taxed to support unconstitutional programs, but he does not refuse to pay taxes and go to jail on principle.

> "The dullest platitude monger or the most unscrupulous Rasputin who can influence the destinies of many people must have some individuality." – F. Scott Fitzgerald

Mr. Goldwater is reported to be the hero of college conservatives. That he has something some students like cannot be gainsayed. John Chamberlain reported in *The Wall Street Journal* some time ago that "there is a new type of radical on campus nowadays. . . . There has been a run in campus bookstores on copies of Senator Barry Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative*. When asked what courses assigned this volume, students have replied, 'Oh, no course. I'm just reading it on my own'." A young *New Republic* reader wrote me recently that "these young people are growing up in one of the most hypocritical societies in history, and they are disgusted with it. They are suckers for the first radical movement to come along, therefore, and since there is no strong left-wing movement for them to join, they gravitate to the Right. . . . The young conservative is attracted to the momentum of attack that is built up behind conservatism today: it has a vigor and sense of purpose that make it seem to be 'the wave of the future.' So they are attracted to people like Goldwater. And, then, what William S. White describes as Goldwater's 'total candor' appeals to their sense of honesty. Goldwater really seems to be the only American politician today who talks hard, who has no qualms about saying what he believes, with no regard for people's feelings and pressure groups."

Just as there has always been disaffected money in this country, so, fortunately, have there always been disaffected students. Goldwater's appeal to them is not primarily intellectual, for he gives nothing with which the bright students can grapple for long. Yet he gives something else, a feeling of swimming against the current with no danger of drowning, a chance to rebel and to conform at the same table. He perfectly fits Gertrude Stein's description of Hemingway: "He looks like a modern, but he smells of the museum."

In an article in *Commonweal* of January 26, 1961, this point was developed by Charles M. Weisenberg: "Most students understand enough about real liberal and radical positions to realize that they demand something like a heroic degree of commitment; and they know that such a commitment, however much it may appeal to their natural idealism, is not for them. In fact, one sometimes gets the impression that the extreme, eccentric or heroic gesture is a luxury they have no time for. They are products of a square if sometimes confused world, and they hope (often with their fingers crossed) to fit squarely and comfortably into place in this world when they finish the business of a college education." He does not, however, think that Goldwater is the true personification of their hopes; "They may be edified by the Senator's championship of individual liberty, but I suspect that what they sense in him is the anti-Kerouac." Still, he can understand why *The Conscience of a Conservative* would prove congenial if not especially stimulating reading: "There is in it a stern and yet comforting father voice that speaks of the complexities and fluctuations of the modern scene from the vantage point of what appears to be

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solid rock. Senator Goldwater's view of political and social realities is a relatively simple one and it holds out the promise of a controlled future. It is made more acceptable by a high moral tone and an avowed dedication to individual freedom and nature."

The relative simplicity on which Mr. Weisenberg remarks should not be underrated. The Senator is no Burke, no Disraeli, no Churchill, no Robert A. Taft. The judgments of the true conservative are born of experience, not copybook maxims. The true conservative is prudent, he does not stand still. The questions he asks are of a practical order: is it necessary, will it work? These are not Goldwater questions. He begins and ends with an arbitrary, unsupported, uncomplicated assertion that "social and cultural change, however desirable, should not be affected by the engines of national power." Why not? Because it is unconstitutional, not "natural," thus wicked. "The issue is simple," he said in 1955: "shall men be slaves or free." Not only simple, but meaningless. Put it another way: what enslaves and what emancipates? There is wage slavery, the slavery of parents to children and vice versa, slavery to the Almighty Dollar (or art). The natives of Angola are not free. Neither is the average colored man in Mississippi, nor the average employee of GE. But when Goldwater speaks of slavery or freedom, he is not talking about such matters. He is talking simply about cutting federal taxes.

When he refers to the Democratic platform, he is equally simple: a "blueprint for socialism." He does not discuss socialism, its history, its aspirations, its varieties. To do that one must deal with concrete situations, with historical realities and present circumstances. And the whole Goldwater movement is a flight from the particular to the abstract.

There are not kinds of liberals, there are Liberals, and they have "the attitude of 'hooray for me and the devil with our country'." This gets a little confused because at the same time "liberals have tried to reform the nature of man"; they have "attempted to create by legislative fiat and governmental decree a state where man might expect not only justice but mercy as well. The fallacy of the liberal presumption is that society can be made perfect when man surrenders his liberty to government and then relies on government for his every need and want." Thus, the "liberal" is both a materialist self seeker and a foolish idealist as well.

How things are seems to hold no interest for him. In February, he told the Republicans in Louisville, Ky., that the Administration's efforts to do something about privation were totally unnecessary. That week Louisville had been officially designated as an area suffering from critical unemployment.

But if the Senator forgot the facts about Louisville, he has not forgotten "the forgotten American." And who is he? "A man who prays, and pays, and works. He stays out of mischief, he behaves himself, he believes in the Constitution and free enterprise and he pays taxes." This, in Goldwater's lexicon, is "individualism"; believe, work, pay taxes, behave yourself.

> "But now about this individualism and socialism debate. Believe me, two-thirds of it is a false issue. . . . To get real individualism, the very first thing you would have to do would be to abolish inherited property. . . . Your real individualist would want a death-duty of 20 shillings in the pound and then he would be in an awful fix to prevent the state from becoming socialist in spending it. . . . Every human State is in league with the fond parents in the coddling and comforting business, and always will be."
>
> – J. A. SPENDER, *The Comments of Bagshot*

How long the young will find this fog illuminating remains to be seen. There have already been faint flashes of disenchantment in disguise. His followers have wanted him to be not a politician, not a man who gets legislation adopted or defeated, but a hater who never concedes any merit to "the enemy." For example, *The National Review* applauded Goldwater's unwillingness to "surrender to the Left" at the time Nixon and Rockefeller got together. But it added, in sorrow, that "in the public forum he did not sustain the challenge. Though his position was always clear, he never again raised hell about it, and that was a serious error." And when Mr. Goldwater later urged his "conservative" supporters to rally behind Nixon and Lodge, *The National Review* regretfully admonished him: "Nor was it wise, let alone generous, for a movement's newly-crowned leader to address his followers as naughty children. Conservatives, at that moment, deserved better than a scolding."

It is not therefore altogether certain that Goldwater will live up to the billing he has been given by the radicals of the Right, or to their expectations. He has been known to temper the consistency associated with his name. In speeches, he advocates "prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program." But in 1958 he went along with federal subsidies to the wool growers; last year he voted for subsidies to the wheat growers. He has asked for "prompt and final termination of *all* subsidy," but he has led no crusade against oil depletion allowances or tariffs, and in 1958 he voted against a proposal to limit federal subsidies given magazines and other second-class mail. He likewise voted to increase the government subsidies for domestic merchant marine construction, and he approved a federal expenditure in fiscal '62 and '63 of $2,089,500,000 for federal and federal-aid roads. He speaks of making "war on all monopolies" – but he has voted to exempt

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professional team sports from the anti-trust laws. In brief, he has not always, not entirely, been the captive of his public image. The radicals cannot give Goldwater up for he is the only hope they see on the political horizon. Yet he may succeed in not being captured by them alone. It is *his* only hope.

"L'audace, encore l'audace, et toujours l'audace"
– Danton

I have left for the last the Senator's views on foreign policy, for here the irony, the detachment from reality, the patronizing of atavistic impulses is best seen. Here he goes to the opposite extreme. He wants little government at home. Abroad, he wants that government to wield a big stick. He distrusts federal power, but he embraces an ever more powerful and dictatorial Uncle Sam. And the incongruity is deeper than that. "This war-torn, weary world," he told the Women's National Press Club in Washington last year, "is in need of love and charity and mercy. . . ." Find the love or mercy in Goldwater's foreign policy. Or the freedom. Trujillo "is not an enemy and a threat to the US." "We should put a naval blockade around Cuba. . . . We should . . . make it clear in the most explicit terms . . . that the Castro regime . . . will be eliminated."

All of the arrogant and power-corrupting tendencies he identifies with "big government" are exposed in his recommendation on, say, US policy toward Africa. "Begin by asserting that it is a Western protégé and a Western responsibility." "The United States," he told the National Association of Manufacturers in New York on December 8, 1960, "should begin acting like a world power and quit grovelling on its knees to inferior people who like to come to New York." So much for human dignity. Disarmament? "We begin by announcing that we are against it." What should we do about Formosa? "A retaliation policy is the only one we can have. We might lose a plane or a ship, but that would be lots better than killing millions of people." Yet he is not beneath using the peace issue the other way. When he campaigned against Senator MacFarland, he told the Phoenix Press Club that "American boys are not being killed tonight as they were six years ago when my opponent was in the Senate."

"You've heard that Communism thrives on the sick, the poor," he says. "Well, let's take Ireland. Their country is one of the poorest. You can't find a Communist in Ireland, or Greece and Turkey, to name others." That inaccuracy becomes an argument against foreign aid. But it is too *practical* an argument. Principle is invoked again: The American government "does not have the right, much less the obligation, to try to promote the economic and social welfare of foreign people." Communism has nothing to do with people's economic circumstances, with their ideas, with their hopes and ambitions. He saw no inconsistency between his anti-Communism and his vote against President Eisenhower's request that foreign aid be placed on a longer-range basis than one year. He voted against the Mutual Security Act in 1960.

He has, moreover, an interesting notion that population growth is in and of itself an index of power. "Europe," he said in a Senate speech on February 25, 1960, "is not growing in population. Europe has become a stagnant part of the world." (The United States, according to the UN Demographic Yearbook for 1953-58, has had an annual population growth of 1.6 percent. That is higher than West Germany or Switzerland, each of which grew by 1.2 percent but it is not much higher, and it is less than Poland's growth of 1.9 percent. And in 1933, the US population increase was only .8 percent. What does any of this prove?) Here he evokes the spirit of the Midwest, anti-European isolationism of the 19th Century. And he combines this with an insistence that we have a more aggressive foreign policy, never asking how effective that policy can be without the consent and cooperation of the still mighty and ever prosperous nations of Europe.

He believes that we need Americans "who will realize that we are in a war, a cold war abroad and a hot war within our boundaries." If they do realize it, what should they do? Here Goldwater *is* for spending. As an Air Force officer, he has always been willing to go along with requests for Air Force appropriations. In addition, he now believes "we should make every effort to achieve decisive superiority in small, clean nuclear weapons. . . . We must protect American interests and American honor everywhere. . . . Aid should be furnished only to friendly, anti-Communist nations that are willing to join us in the struggle for freedom."

His policy for dealing with Communist governments bears the familiar trademark of simplicity; he would withdraw recognition "from all Communist governments." And though we have no "right" to promote the welfare of others, we have a duty to "attempt to overthrow" Communist regimes. (On our own, presumably, since we are not likely to get much help from "stagnant Europe.") "We should establish close liaisons with underground leaders behind the Iron Curtain, furnishing them with printing presses, radios, weapons, instructors; the paraphernalia of a full-fledged resistance." These were his views a year ago.

Has it occurred to Senator Goldwater that the strong-armed garrison state that is called for by unilateral interventionism would mean augmenting the power of the national government? He is for love, he is for mercy, he is for God, but he told L. Brent Bozell in *The National Review* of December 17, 1960 that "we will have to shed the attitudes and techniques of the Salvation Army, and start behaving like a great power."

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Speaking of Marx

Some say that Clinton Rossiter is too peppery to be a really sound political philosopher; which may be true, although it is hard to think of any first-rate analyst of the conduct of public affairs who isn't liberally sprinkled with paprika. Be that as it may, I confess to having been highly diverted in reading – as usual, a few months after everybody else – his 1960 book on the essential Americanism of Karl Marx.

Naturally, he doesn't put it that way. Being literate, Mr. Rossiter is necessarily acquainted with the formidable power of our equivalent of the Holy Office in 16th-Century Spain, and he has no desire to be visited by the Familiars of the Un-American Activities Committee and its spawn. Accordingly, he writes ostensibly of the un-Americanism of Marx, labeling his work, "Marxism: the View From America," and insisting *passim* that it is an exposition of the reasons why we can never accept Marxism in the United States.

That is true. But he shows that the final, conclusive reason – disregarding a long string of subsidiary ones – why we can never accept Marx in this country is that he was temperamentally – although not intellectually – a dead ringer for the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Since Joe was as profoundly American as the Know-Nothings and the Ku Klux, it follows that Old Whiskers must have had in him a broad streak of Americanism, although not the brand of which the Fourth of July orators spout. Marx, like McCarthy, never believed that anyone could differ with him honestly. Marx, like McCarthy, preferred to shout down rather than refute an opponent. Marx, like McCarthy, could pervert logic to support amazing propositions; for example, his insistence that there is no god had a logical basis – there isn't room in the universe for two, and since Marx was plainly one, there could be no other.

However, the daring of Rossiter is not evinced by his detection of the McCarthyism of Marx. It is his attribution to the heresiarch of certain forms of Americanism of which the Fourth of July orators *do* spout. After all, the man was a prodigious thinker, and whether right or wrong, still prodigious. It was only in temperament – or, crudely, in villainous temper – that he resembles the American witch-burner. When he turned his attention to problems worth the attention of a first-rate mind he came up with ideas some of which today are influencing the thinking of the National Association of Manufacturers as certainly as other ideas have an influence on the Communist Party.

Realists, of course, have known this for years and have been saying so, but, being realists, for the most part they have been singing small, for there has been no hope of convincing any considerable part of the American public. Rossiter, however, has spoken up, and Rossiter is still unhung.

Does this indicate an alteration in the climate of public opinion significant enough to justify hopeful comment? I, for one, believe it does. There are many indications that the drill-sergeant, a necessary affliction when the nation is fighting for its life, is being found expendable in the realm of ideas. When the Philistines be upon us there is nothing for it but to regiment opinion along with everything else; it, too, must march, wheel, right-about-face, stand at attention and salute at the word of command.

The spirit of subordination, once established, invariably outlasts the need for it, but 16 years after the artillery fell silent is a bit excessive. The reason, of course, is the Russians, who have dominated our minds almost as completely as we have dominated theirs. There is a charming irony in the fact that the reminder that there are other people in the world, the reminder that may release us from our obsession with Moscow, came from – of all unlikely places – Africa, only yesterday the most completely subjugated continent on the globe. The realization that if Africa boils over we shall all be scalded, Communist and Capitalist alike, seems to be having an astonishing liberating effect.

Yes, yes, I know, this is making a whole summer out of one swallow, or at most five or six. On the other hand, Representative Roosevelt could rally only five other Congressmen to support his scheme to abolish the Holy Office. Instead, the House voted the Un-American Activities Committee more money than ever. But when has the House of Representatives ever kept abreast of public opinion in this country?

At any rate the time is now here when an American writer of books will not be incinerated by a thunderbolt even if he says right out that a good idea remains good, even if it first was announced by Karl Marx. He can go further. He can assert that a man whose ideas have swept half the globe and offer a real threat to the other half could not have been altogether wrong; and it behooves us to find out just what part of his preachment does make sense and shape our course accordingly.

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Lucky Jenny, or Affluent Times

by T. J. Ross

"Patrick caught sight . . . of a great raw chunk of the Western European cultural tradition . . . on the wall of the bar; the reproduction, in full color, of some vast open sewer in the Venice of a fortunately bygone age, fairly crawling with gondolas and alive with nothing-better-to-do characters who were making an honest effort to get a bit of conviction into the way they were milling around on landing stages and hanging out of windows waving. There was an electric light shining straight on to all this so that it could be seen better. Next thing you knew there would be originals round the place, hot from the brushes of living artists. Was nowhere safe?"

The quotation's leading phrase is "fortunately bygone age." Amis' stress is on the possibilities of life, not its lost causes. His hero is reminded that "life was all right really" whenever he drives past "unlighted shop windows, full of television sets and bottles of intoxicating liquors, and other selections from the good things in life." Patrick is a sensitive part-time sybarite and if he is ruthlessly mocking of what is rotten in TV or other "good things," it is not in order to indulge an adolescent sense of irony but because of his vested interest in the Now.

So when the wide-eyed heroine marvels at what a fine old country estate must have been like before Welfare State enclosure transformed it into a nursing home ("... all those servants and the suits of armor and the swords on the wall and the paintings . . .") she is abruptly checked by her lover-mentor, our hero: "None of that stuff would have done you much good if you were one of those servants with half an attic and your keep and a housekeeper driving you to and fro fifteen hours in the day." To make sure his meaning doesn't remain "hidden," Patrick continues, "If you were on top it was an excellent system, no doubt. The whole thing was organized for you to enjoy yourself." The question remains, what are the possibilities for gainful enjoyment given the way the system is organized today.

Amis tests the possibility against his first fully drawn heroine. The name and nature of Jenny Bunn stem from the line that includes Jim Dixon (*Lucky Jim*), John Lewis (*That Uncertain Feeling*) and Garnet Bowen (*I Like It Here*). She is kindred spirit to the boys. Like them, she works in one of the sensitive cultural areas, having come down from the provinces to teach grade school in a town near London, and like them she doesn't look the part. She is good at her job even though she is intelligent, unboorish, and able to make use of pedagogical techniques not acquired at her Training School. She thinks of herself as "a quiet, responsible girl, helpful and easy to get on with," which echoes Lucky Jim's view of his virtues: "politeness, friendly interest, ordinary concern, a good-natured willingness to be imposed upon, a desire for unequivocal friendship." This established, it remains to confront Jenny with a run of off-duty chances and tests. The main chance, and test, means Patrick Standish, Latin teacher at the public school. Like the stock Amis hero, he is an ex-aesthete. But, as free-lover and general dasher-about, he is more of a New Wave type than the others. Jenny, who stutters when nervous, likes his "sort of free-and-easy manner" but not his "free-and-easy way of going on." Insofar as Jenny's culture includes *God's Little Acre* and *The Robe* and *Julie London Sings*, she would seem a bit apart from the Amis intellectual-hero, but for her habit of seeing real scenes and situations in terms of familiar mass media images which she shares with the boys; where they are sardonic and strenuously "aware" in their perspective, she is deadpan and musing. The following may serve not only to exemplify this habit of vision, but also to get at what Jenny stands for:

"They were all throwing themselves into enjoying themselves . . . The way they held their drinks and cigarettes was different too: the

Take a Girl Like You
by Kingsley Amis
(Harcourt, Brace; $3.95)

By the Light of the Lovely Bookburning

There goes Philo B trying to put out the fire,
hopping as he burns. More's the pity –
the coals he's dampening just hiss back.
But how he entertains the bibliovirgins,
dodging their giggles and gasoline pellets.
By the light of this fascinating fire
Madame Z presents her methods-of-medicine show
cabaret style with maximum use of visual aids
for the Medicojurisprudence Convention (Aphasic Section).
See how she demonstrates rehabilitation!
Her enchanted audience is learning how to win fatter judgments
for their clients, who are suffering from head injuries.

A. L. Lazarus

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YOU CAN HELP AI CHOI

Ai Choi knows the hurt of hunger. Her father slaves long hours but cannot eke out enough from their arid bit of land to provide sufficient food for the family.

CHANGE THE LIFE OF A CHILD

Now you, your club or school can actually change the life of a child like Ai Choi in Korea, Greece, Lebanon or France through the Save the Children Federation ***Self-Help*** Program. Your monthly contribution of $12.50 will enable a family to help themselves by buying seed, fertilizer, tools, sewing or knitting machines, livestock, or whatever is needed to make them self-supporting.

BREAK THE CHAINS OF POVERTY

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NR 3-1

women held their hands apart as if they had just finished a French shrug, the men in the position of a boxer whose guard has begun to drop. But the enjoyment thing was the same with both, reminding Jenny of television commercials that showed how frantic a party could get on prune juice or chocolate biscuits, only these people would have been a bit old for anything like that."

Jenny stands for chocolate biscuits and Mother's Day and Methodism and Bible classes and gruff old Dad ("a hearse driver") and the values thereof which include chastity and true romance. Like the false values of the public media, these real private values come in for a jarring by the waywardness of the New Wave.

Amis characterizes by "doubles." Jenny's double is her boarding house neighbor, Anna Le Page, whose identity seems like her name. An arty, lesbianish brunette, she is faintly anti-Protestant, pro-peasant, always boosting "freedom" and using phrases like "to be sure" and adjectives like "strange." But she's not set up as a clay pigeon; indeed, the development of Anna and Jenny's relationship from mutual hostility to hostile design to undesigning friendship to regretful parting is one of Amis' surest triumphs. He can sound the poignance of a character or situation without the least bit of patronizing.

Another freedom-boosting character is Julien Ormerod, a well-to-do roustabout, whom the hero joins for romps through colorless Soho strip clubs and the town flats of easy blondes. Yet Julien turns out to be more decent than Patrick, while the latter remains cavalier to the last. He is not turned aside from temptation as Amis' heroes, in the clutch, usually are, nor does he disclaim his advantage, at the last minute.

Since he is an un-Woukmanlike artist, Amis cannot allow his heroine her cake to have and to eat. Jenny values chastity as integral to her individuality. To bring some "Mr.-Not-Too-Bad" to the altar by sleeping with him would be too easy. But how much is Jenny's ideal based on a mild affectation? Without self-pity, or false disavowals, the lovers, in their last exchange, air the leading question and remind us where the author's allegiance, from start to finish, goes:

> "... Well, those old Bible-class ideas have certainly taken a knocking, haven't they?"
>
> "They were bound to ... with a girl like you. It was inevitable."
>
> "Oh, yes, I expect it was. But I can't help feeling it's rather a pity."

Jenny is the standard-bearer; even her coolness to a movie "all about a poor Indian family" without "any love in it" is in line with a complaint Mr. Amis recorded while reviewing movies for *Esquire*. He disliked films which do nothing but show the natives with all four feet on the ground.

The characters do not, as in the deepest characterization, break free of the author's terms into autonomy; yet the terms of this novel, and the pleasures offered, are those of art. His portrait of Jenny is as lovingly prejudiced as is a portrait by James. One should not confuse his comedy with the coy got-you-now! routines of the so-called "sick" gamesmen. What happens in an Amis novel counts. On the other hand, there is more to his manner than a hearty beaming Decency or flat-footed Common Sense.

Where he surprises us is in his avoidance of false analogies and hoked-up responses. He knows what he's talking about. If English culture is in the process of catching up to our own highly advanced industrial phase, as is usually said, it is, at least, going through a phase without its writers missing it. Amis knows the tradition against which he would measure his talent and his times, as quick allusions to Blake and T. S. Eliot (poets of London and of love and marriage) show; but he has done more than sneak up on its techniques; he wrestles with Blake and Eliot in their implication.

Then there is the wit of his style, which is neither "sick" nor dependent on "wry humor," but which it is in opposition to the imperatives of organized uneasiness. Features are described as the "snouty kind but not unpretty" or "looking dedicated like a gangster or general." Prepositions run amuck: "Jenny ... fetched her music case, with books and not music in, from the classroom." Only yesterday stern lov-

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ers of the arts were chiding Dreiser for "writing like a hippopotamus," and today V. S. Pritchett jibes that Amis "writes with his boots on." But his style, in fact, gets us to places which startle through their suddenly revealed unfamiliarity.

Take A Girl Like You is Kingsley Amis' most glamorous novel so far. It's a true romance.

The Task of Development Diplomacy

by Robert C. Good

Ordinarily I frown on reviewers who condescendingly refer to a work of less than 200 tightly-worded pages as "this little book." But these days, a little book, good or bad, is rare and welcome. (Authors sometimes are paid by the number of words they write, but no reader I know of is paid by the number of words he is required to scan.) Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank, has squeezed some big ideas into the small compass of fifty-nine pages.

The Diplomacy of Economic Development
by Eugene R. Black
foreword by Christian A. Herter
(Harvard; $3)

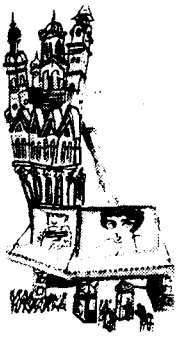
Mr. Black is a banker plus. The plus is symbolized by his notable diplomatic success in untangling the financial snarl resulting from the Suez crisis and in manuevering an agreement between India and Pakistan concerning the distribution of the waters of the Indus River. From these achievements, and from the Bank's experience over 14 years in 600 development projects in 50 countries, emerge the theses which Mr. Black first offered in his William L. Clayton Lectures at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and has now placed between hard covers.

The choice in the underdeveloped areas, he writes, is not whether to develop or not to develop – for economic development offers the only avenue of escape from the many problems, population pressures for example, that partial development has already created. Rather the question is *how* to develop. The options broadly speaking are two: totalitarian methods *vs.* modes of development not inconsistent with the emergence of free institutions.

The task of what Mr. Black calls "development diplomacy" is not to impose solutions, but to illumine for the leaders of developing countries the consequences of their political choices for genuine economic growth and social well-being. "If respect for [the values of freedom and democracy] is to spread among the people of the underdeveloped world," he writes, "the West must be willing to work side by side with these people and make common cause with them. For it is not by any sudden act of conversion, but only through growing together over time that the West can hope its values will take root and spread. This growing together will take constant and constructive contact and that is what the exercise of economic aid – or development diplomacy – is all about."

For maximum effectiveness, Mr. Black invokes the principle of "separate but equal" status for aid programs in the formulation of national policy. That is, economic aid should be, certainly not superior to, but definitely distinct from, the tactical, political and military problems of contending with Communism along a shifting world-wide front. If our development-diplomats are to maintain contact with underveloped areas quite apart from the vicissitudes of Cold War politics, then international agencies provide the best means for doing so.

But economic development cannot be engineered from outside: "the road to a self-sustaining growth must be built by the poor society itself." I am reminded of Raymond Aron's remark: "What is called economic development, above all in its first phase," he wrote of tropical Africa, "is a social and human mutation; it is a transformation



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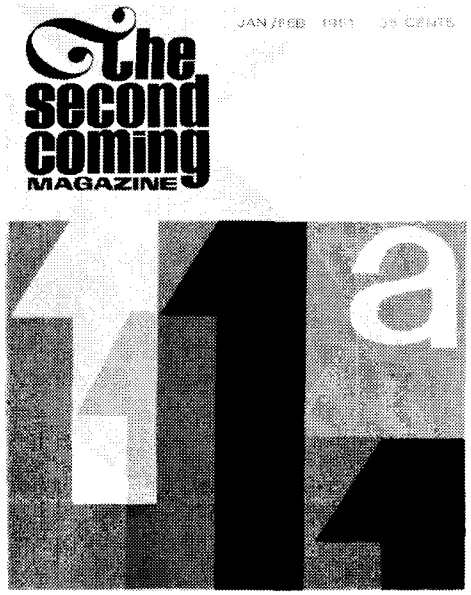

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of the attitude of the population." Not so much for ideological reasons but by sheer necessity, governments in the underdeveloped countries become the engines of change, cajoling and pressuring a change-resistant society.

Here is the gravest problem for America, whose relevance to the real problems of the developing society is dissipated partly by its unbelievable affluence and by its libertarian creed, but also by its distrust of government intervention. More and more frequently, the "relevant" models for economic development bear the label: "Made in the East." Mr. Black's challenge is clear – clearer perhaps than his answer: "If the free world has an alternative way to economic development that can approximate the rate of growth under Communism without the terrible cost to humanity which Communism entails, [the developing societies] do not yet see how that alternative applies to their particular situation."

But isn't this formula too sanguine? He is correct when he says there is no certain relationship between economic progress and the development of the values of freedom and tolerance. But may he not be too optimistic in thinking that an army of development-diplomats, assisting in the creation of planning procedures in developing countries, can inculcate "the habit of resolving conflicts in a rational and democratic manner" leading to the encouragement of "a public respect for free institutions"?

The vocation of the development-diplomat, as Mr. Black eloquently points out, is not to announce bold new programs but to struggle with the predicament posed for the free nations of the West: how to overcome the poverty which Western civilization has made intolerable without irreparably damaging the human values which the West has elevated.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

T. J. Ross is on the English faculty at Fairleigh Dickinson University. Robert C. Good *is a research associate at the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research.* A. L. Lazarus *is a young poet from Texas who makes his first appearance in this journal with this issue.*

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JULES FEIFFER

O.K. YOU WANNA KNOW WHAT'S CAUSING JUVEN-ILE DELINQUENCY? THE **BREAKDOWN** OF THE SYSTEM. **THAT'S** WHAT'S CAUSING JUVEN-ILE DELINQUENCY.

LOOK, YOU'RE LIVING IN A WORLD WHERE U'GOTTA GO WITH THE SYSTEM. THAT'S **CIVILIZATION!** IF YOU GOT NO SYSTEM, YOU GOT NO RULES. IF YOU GOT NO RULES — **WHAMMY!** ALL HELL BREAKS LOOSE.

NOW **WE** GOT A SYSTEM. OUR SYSTEM IS **CORRUPTION**. IT WAS LIKE THAT WHEN **I** WAS A KID. IT'S LIKE THAT **TODAY**. YOU UNDERMINE A KID'S FAITH IN CORRUPTION AND YOU'RE ASKING FOR TROUBLE.

SO **MAKE** A BIG STINK OUTA POLICE PAYOFFS AND BUTCHERS' FAT THUMBS. THAT'S NOTHING **NEW**. KIDS'VE KNOWN THAT STUFF FOR **YEARS!**

ONLY **THEY** NEVER KNEW IT WAS **WRONG**.

YOU TELL KIDS THE VALUES THEY GREW UP WITH ARE **WRONG** AND THEY LOSE RESPECT FOR THE **SYSTEM**. THEY GO OFF THEIR NUT.

O.K - SO YOU ARREST A FEW PEOPLE. WHADAYA CHANGE? COPS **AIN'T** GONNA TAKE PAYOFFS? LANDLORDS ARE GONNA **VOLUNTEER** YOU REPAIRS?

LOOK - IT'S GONNA GO ON **ANYHOW!** STOP 'ALL THE SCREAMING! **LEGALIZE** CORRUPTION!

GIVE OUR CHILDREN BACK THEIR ROOTS.

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MOVIES

Operation Abolition

The much-discussed *Operation Abolition* is a 45-minute film about the demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee session in San Francisco last May. The purpose of the film is to "prove" that the picketing by college students and the disturbances in the City Hall were brought about by the machinations of

Operation Abolition
(Produced by Unidentified Hands)

known Communists, some of whom were subpoenaed by the Committee. "Operation Abolition" is, supposedly, the name that Communists have given to their program to demolish the Committee; these student protests are alleged to have been part of that program. The picture is now being seen in colleges, clubs, industrial plants and churches throughout the country.

As a piece of film-making, it is not noteworthy. On the other hand, if I were in the propaganda business, I would want to make films just like it. It consists entirely of grainy, jerky newsreel and TV-film clips, interspersed with three addresses to the audience by members of the Committee. Thus you have actuality certified by Congressional authority.

Its very crudity is an asset. When Leni Riefenstahl was making propaganda films for the Nazis, the results were often aesthetically commanding; some of them are still shown at film clubs for certain intrinsic cinematic values. But many of the people for whom this film is intended might be as suspicious of a "pretty" film as they are of fancy food or foreign accents. No subtle dissolves here, no montages or clever musical score. This film has an air of honest fact, laid on the line without any artistic fuss-and-feathers. This is the way to do it in our country.

The recipe is simple. Select film clips which can be juxtaposed to suggest certain sequences and facts whether or not they really were the sequences and facts. Put a spoken commentary behind them which "interprets" them for you and which suggests more than you are actually seeing. (For example, show students being ejected by police; have the commentator report that some students threw shoes at the police and one student seized a policeman's stick and clubbed him. The viewer sees the former and thinks he has also seen the latter.) Then get three Congressmen to make speeches in front of a window through which the US Capitol is visible. That these are three members of the committee against which the demonstrations were held only adds a note of seeming fairness: because these gentlemen do not berate the students – they are regretful for them as Communist dupes. True, Congressman Scherer says the students have been "toying with treason" by objecting to the Committee, but the legislators speak of them more in avuncular sorrow than in patriotic anger.

I was lucky to see this film at a showing sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ which last month passed a resolution expressing "deep concern" about the effects of the film. Before the showing there was a brief talk by Mr. Dean Kelley, Director of the Council's Department of Religious Liberty. Any reasonably well-informed person would snicker (as this audience did) at the easily recognizable platitudes and distortions of the Congressmen, but only an extraordinarily well-informed person could recognize the distortions in the film itself without such a preamble as Mr. Kelley provided. Making clear that the Council is not trying to suppress the film but only wants to insure that it is shown with an explanatory prelude, Mr. Kelley cited inaccuracies, omissions, and questions of which the film states only one side.

There is room here to give only a few random samples. The film implies, by juxtaposition, that Harry Bridges was involved in the disorders; in fact, order had been restored before he appeared. The film omits to report that the Students for Civil Liberties explicitly refused to join the Communists who were making trouble inside the committee room. The film's commentator says that the room seated 400 persons and that the Committee issued only 100 passes to its friends; he neglects to mention that each pass admitted 3 or more persons. We see a 61-year-old policeman who suffered a heart attack in the disturbance; we do not hear about a student who warned the police he had a bad back, was nevertheless dragged down the steps, and had to have an operation. The whole background of the student demonstration is omitted – including the fact that the Committee had cancelled its projected Californian visit the previous year after issuing a number of injurious subpoenas, thus giving the subpoenaed persons no chance to clear themselves.

The National Council of Churches has printed a 15,000 word report on this film, called *Some Facts and Some Comments*, which is now available from them, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, at 50 cents a copy, with discounts for bulk purchases.

A final note on the film itself. The print I saw carried no production credits of any kind. However, a folder from the Missionary Film Service, Inc. of Seattle offers to supply this film free of charge, along with a filmstrip called *Communism on the Map*. I have seen a report on this filmstrip by three University of Washington graduate students which says that it describes the US as infiltrated with Communism to the point that in Congress "Communists are so powerful that they can actually bring about the passage or defeat of laws." (Evidently the Committee has a job to do in its back yard). It also describes the US as being encircled by Communism abroad.

One wonders why the freedom-fighters who are willing to make *Operation Abolition* available to the public without charge are unwilling to have their names associated with it.

Why does all this matter? Here is a

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fourth-rate documentary, artistically speaking, devoted to a (largely) student demonstration which had no discernible political effect and was not the occasion of any really serious violence. Why was it worth a film? And why are a leading religious association and numerous educators objecting to it?

To me, there are two leading reasons for its importance. I remember that when I read about the San Francisco disturbances, I thought of what an English journalist had once said to me about European demonstrations: that if controversial meetings were held on Sundays and holidays, they would cause no riots because the demonstrators were all students who used the meetings simply as a chance to cut classes. It was a joke, perhaps feeble; but I had felt a twinge of shame that the joke was inapplicable to the inert American student body of five or six years ago. San Francisco changed that. Here at last was a nationally visible protest against the vicious inanity of a committee which, if history tells us true, is itself un-American in principle. And this protest was made by youth. Political ferment – as distinct from political decision – must come from the young. If the people with the most years ahead of them don't care enough about their government to march, meet, petition, and write in support or in opposition, a country is sick. The young must think their elders are doing unsatisfactorily or how can there be progress? It is the young who are, or ought to be, the least bound to *status quo*. Kirsanov, a character in Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, thinking of young men, says: "I feel there is something behind them we have not got, some superiority over us.... Is it youth? No: not only youth. Doesn't their superiority consist in there being fewer traces of the slave-owner in them than in us?"

No one senses all this better than the anonymous makers of this film. They acted quickly after this first strong political movement in years by college students; and they are supplying this film around the country to persuade young people and their advisers that protest against authority is, in itself, implicitly treasonous.

The second major point is unintentional: what this film shows us – yet again – about the kind of men who paid for it, made it, and address us in it. *They* are not deceived. They know exactly what they are doing, and why. They are not hobbled by ethical considerations; they are pragmatists. Their only ethic is, in irreducible irony, exactly that of their chief enemies, the Communists. The utterances of Francis Walter and Gordon Scherer come from the same brutally cynical, shrewd, utilitarian mold as those of a Khrushchev; only a few of the nouns are changed.

Thus this film is not about misled juvenile prankishness. It is, in reality, a move to control the source of the future. And indirectly it tells humanists, again, that to live is to fight, and not to be discouraged because they can never win finally and completely. Anyway, absolute victory is as much a delusion as any other absolute. This film doesn't signify that the fight and life are getting either better or worse; it simply reminds us that the two are inseparable. STANLEY KAUFFMANN

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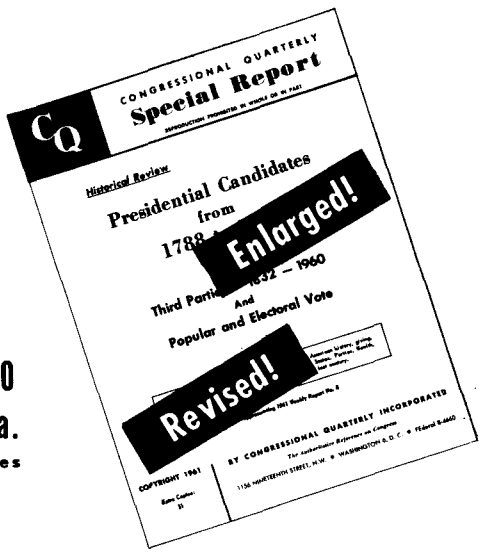

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TELEVISION

Before the Great American Jury

Then, in the first winter of the New Frontier, television made news again, big black headline news. Mr. Ed Sullivan, who owns the people's air from eight to nine on Sunday evening, was having an argument with Mr. Jack Paar, who owns it from eleven-fifteen until one a.m. five nights a week.

I can say how it began, but where it will all end knows God. It began with Mr. Sullivan decreeing that if a performer works for minimum pay ($315) on the Paar show, henceforth minimum pay is what that performer can expect for appearing on the Sullivan show. On occasion, as all the papers have been quick to point out, Mr. Sullivan has paid his guests as high as $7,500, which is not bad even for such gifted artists as Fabian and Senor Wences.

In any other business a question of wages and hours like this might have been settled out of court. But both Mr. Paar and Mr. Sullivan have brought it straight to the Great American Jury, and at this writing the jury is expected to bring in a decision any day. It will be a difficult decision, for Sullivan and Paar are both favorites with the Great American Jury. Paar with that section of it that keeps late hours and Sullivan with the section that has nothing better to do on Sunday evening. Both feel confident of ultimate vindication.

All right now, ask me a question. Ask me if there is something wrong with this country. I'll say yes. Then ask, does it have something to do with television? Again the answer is yes. If you are still with me, ask if Jack Paar and Ed Sullivan are prime examples of what is wrong. And the answer will be yes, yes, yes.

What is wrong is that the Great American Jury is asked to settle issues like the one agitating Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Paar. The members of the Great Jury are asked to settle them not in accordance with any law or set of principles but according to how they feel about the inventiveness of Mr. Sullivan or Mr. Paar. If you do not care enough about either gentleman to send in your note and three box-tops, you, friend, are simply not a member of the Great American Jury, because the decisions of this jury are determined by applause or boos. It is the applause meter that establishes where justice lies. When the findings are in, the winner is greeted warmly – "That's my boy!" The loser is nobody's boy.

Mr. Paar has reason to be confident. Last year the Great American Jury came to his aid after his famous walkout. Network officials, who might reasonably be expected to take pleasure in seeing the last of Mr. Paar, were deluged with letters demanding that he be restored to his abandoned throne. And the Great American Jury had its way. Who can forget the tear in Hugh Downs' voice when he announced that democracy had triumphed, Jack would be back?

I don't know how you feel, but I admit I am afraid of the Great American Jury, not because it is itself so fearsome but because the networks, sponsors, advertising and talent agents – not to mention political parties and Washington congressmen – are so slavishly obedient to its demands. I should not have to add this but I will: it is not the American people who frighten me, the people with their times-tested democratic institutions and machinery for due process; it is the American masses and the mass mind that a personable television celebrity like Paar can, and does, use as his own rag doll.

"The trouble with the mass media is the masses," Leo Rosten said once. That statement should be embroidered on samplers for every office on Madison Avenue. Television creates, cultivates and panders to the mass mind. Its proprietors really think of it as a *mass* medium, most of their programs are directed not to free persons but to the mindless malleable lump.

When a cheap night-club MC drops sure-fire names, places or sentiments with full knowledge that it will bring him the Pavlovian applause he is seeking, he is generally recognized as a small-timer. But when a Jack Paar makes his tearful appeals to the Great American Jury, though he is treating his audience with the same contempt, he is hailed as a great performer. And when it works, as it usually does, his success is a chilling example of how the mass mind calls the tune on Madison Avenue. The earnest men of the industry who speak so frequently and touchingly about their sense of responsibility ought to be ashamed for letting Mr. Paar get away with it. Maybe they are, but what can they do? Paar can always get the Great American Jury to find them guilty, too.

This, then, strikes me as being the only significant element in the TV's latest blowup. As to whether Ed Sullivan welched on their petty debate, or Paar did, or both did – who cares? Of course the answer is that thousands, maybe millions of people really do care. And if nothing else does, that alone should keep us awake nights.

The FCC under its new management is pressing for legislation which would require manufacturers to produce television sets equipped for ultra-high-frequency. With UHF, as many as seventy new channels can be added to the present number.

What will it be like to have eighty-odd programs to choose from? It could solve the problem of those who seek better things than television now offers. It could mean, for instance, specialized lectures and discussions for specialized audiences – and no need to that dramatic offerings of the caliber of

"THE BASIC RAW MATERIAL is everything you've seen and heard and felt, it's your childhood and your education and serving in the army, and travelling in odd places, and finding yourself in odd situations. It is those rare moments of suffering and delight when a man's private sensations are amplified and illuminated by a flash of insight that gives him the certainty that what he is seeing and feeling is what millions of his fellowmen see and feel in the same situation only heightened. Seen a little sharper perhaps."
—from "Contemporary Chronicles," by John Dos Passos, in the spring issue of THE CARLETON MISCELLANY.
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Play of the Week caliber would be multiplied.

But it will probably also mean that many of these new stations will operate as propaganda outlets for various political, social and religious causes. The basic pluralism of America will assert itself. We can expect stations operated by and for sectarian socialists, members of the John Birch Society, single-taxers, vegetarians, prohibitionists, anti-vivesectionists, segregationists, perhaps even nudists. We can expect Protestant stations, Catholic stations, Jewish stations, Ethical Culture stations; Democratic stations, Republican stations, Dixiecrat stations.

The prospect is both exciting and appalling. Picking out the program one wants may become as bewildering as choosing a paperback book has become.

Members of the cultural élite who do not now listen to, or are generally bored by, network television may look forward to the opening of seventy new stations as the solution to their television problem. But before hats are tossed too high in the air, consider that the opening of UHF will probably produce quantities of sheer rubbish. For every TV version of *The American Scholar* we may expect a dozen *Captain Billy's Whizbangs*. For every discriminating art theater, there will probably be a dozen 42nd Street grindhouses.

I wonder too how many listeners will be tempted to abandon the slick, highly professional network stuff they are used to for the Third Programmes some of us look forward to. The publication of a hundred new little magazines does not affect the circulation of *Life*. Even with seventy UHF-stations, I suspect network television will continue to be the major influence on the cultural life of America. Whatever *American Bandstand* or *This Is Your Life* is now doing to the American character will still be done.

John Cogley

THEATER

Fragments From a Cultural Explosion

The American Dream
and *The Death of Bessie Smith*
by Edward Albee
(York Theater)
Roots
by Arnold Wesker
(Mayfair Theater)

It is often taken as a sign of progress and maturity that our formerly Philistine fatherland has now begun to consume artistic objects with an appetite fully as ravenous as that once reserved for comic books. The phrase for this awesome phenomenon, I believe, is "cultural explosion" – but out of this explosion have come only scattered shell fragments which we vainly try to shore against our ruins. For despite increasing activity and interest, our culture is in a state of severe impoverishment. While everyone, including monkeys and IBM computers, is busy "creating," almost nobody is creating well, and the true appetite for works of art remains dreadfully undernourished by the native approximations. This fact is dimly, though indirectly, reflected in the various organs devoted to initiating cultural fashions. America's fascination with artists has always been much greater than its interest in art, but you can't have one without the other; and *Life, Esquire,* the women's magazines, and the newspapers are all revealing a measure of desperation in trying to unearth "exciting new personalities" to feed to an insatiable public. Years ago – and this may explain the comparative honesty of his early work – Tennessee Williams completed over fifteen plays before anyone took the slightest notice of him. Today, a Lorraine Hansberry and an Archibald MacLeish need produce only a single saleable commodity before their "dramatic genius" is proclaimed in every middle-brow publication in the land.

Edward Albee was first promoted into an "exciting new personality" on the basis of one short play (*The Zoo Story*), but now that he has added a couple more one-acters to the canon,

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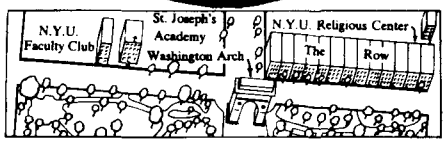

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the press is fairly bursting with enthusiastic epithets. In the last few weeks, he has been tin-typed by *Time*, interviewed by *Theatre Arts*, produced by *Omnibus*, and fluttered over by all the reviewers, with the result that we now know every detail of his life and his opinion on every conceivable theatrical subject. The irony of this situation is only surpassed by its essential sadness. To be so easily gobbled up by the media would be a forbidding omen even in a playwright who has already proven his ability. But since Mr. Albee's talent is still in a rather immature stage of development, his premature fame may prove very damaging to his creative growth.

The American Dream and *The Death of Bessie Smith* are further evidence that Albee's talent has not yet found its way out of chrysalis. Both plays are inferior to *The Zoo Story*, but all three embody the same vital defect: the absence of any compelling theme, commitment, or sense of life which might pull them into focus. Lacking this larger vision, Albee's plays – while beginning auspiciously, with a pyrotechnic display of arch, brittle irony – always collapse at the finish, either into whimpering melodrama (*Bessie Smith*) or into embarrassing self-exposure (*American Dream*). The consequence, reflected in both productions (which also end feebly after promising beginnings), is an abrupt switch in tone, and sometimes a sense of bewildering irrelevance – as in *Bessie Smith* where a Gothic report of the blues singer's death in an auto accident is forcibly superimposed on the main story of a malignant Southern nurse (out of Williams) and an idealistic interne who unaccountably pursues her.

The disunity of *The American Dream* is more damaging, since it mars a better work. The play begins as a scorching satire on upper middle class family life (aggressive Mommy and castrated Daddy tormenting sweet-crusty Grandma), in which the fatuities of daily conversation are brutally excoriated through the use of clichés, small talk, and illogical non-sequiturs. Albee, who has not yet developed his own style, borrows Ionesco's techniques here, and he manipulates them well in a somewhat febrile, bitchy manner. But while *The Bald Soprano* opened out onto all vacuous families, Albee closes in on one (probably his own); and with strong suggestions of personal bitterness, the play shifts into a story of adoption. This shift is signified by the entrance of the "Dream," a fully grown Adonis in regulation theater garb (blue jeans, tee shirt, cowboy boots) who proceeds to pour out toneless pathological confessions about his inability to feel, love, connect, be whole, etc. When Mommy, who has already dismembered his twin, adopts him, the curtain descends, while Grandma (now "dead") poignantly comments on the repetition from the wings. Thus, like *The Zoo Story*, this play begins as a whining letter to the chaplain, compromised by Albee's inability to objectify or transcend the wounded Self.

To judge by *Roots*, Arnold Wesker would seem to be another dramatist who has been praised too quickly; in fact, compared with Albee, he looks like a theatrical primitive. For while *The American Dream* is a high-fidelity playback of the latest avant-garde tunes, *Roots* is written as if the author had just stumbled on John Galsworthy. The exacting naturalism of this rural kitchen drama, even more labored than necessary in the current tortoise-like production, is extremely oppressive: one is exhausted by the never-ending housework and heartburned by full-course meals. For the first two acts, absolutely nothing happens, except for a careful documentation of the dialect and habits of some English Jukes and Kallikaks, and, in the third, when the theme emerges, it is so naïve one blushes for the author. The play concerns a simple Norfolk girl who, influenced by her absent Jewish-Socialist lover, tries to convince her uncomprehending family of the joys of art, thought, politics, and life. Beginning as a ventriloquist's dummy for her lover's opinions, she discovers – after he has abandoned her – that she has developed her own soul. The curtain falls on her ecstatic cry: "I'm beginning."

Clearly, Wesker wants art, and it is easy to dismiss this piece as boring and banal, but it is written with such overwhelming sincerity that one is somehow prevented from a final judgment. Actually, *Roots* – gagged as it is by mindless characters – is the weakest play in the *Chicken Soup* trilogy. In the other two works, Wesker has more

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complexity about both politics and human nature, and proves if not more artful than Albee, then certainly less self-indulgent. There, his theme is not the ennobling of the masses, but their brutalization by mass culture; and, like John Osborne and Doris Lessing, he dramatizes the dilemma of the powerless intellectual, hungry for a social faith, but disillusioned by the failures of the preceding generation. Thus, while the American dramatist responds to the confusions of his time by withdrawing into himself and fixing on his own career, the English playwright still keeps an eye cocked on that anxious, frightened world beyond. Needless to say, it is in England, not here, that the energies of the drama are beginning to flow. ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Are Our Specialists Overspecialized?

Sirs:

Unfortunately William Furlong's "Skilled Barbarians" (March 13) are as common in other technical and scientific areas as they are in Engineering. Furthermore, they show signs of overrunning these limits into the Social Sciences as subjects such as economics become more technical and less humanist in orientation. Such are the conclusions I have drawn from close association with twenty future college teachers while on the graduate student council of a large eastern university.

The large majority of my fellow Councilmen, most of whom represented agricultural and science departments were notable not only for their consistent antagonism toward such projects as a South American student exchange program and a University-wide lecture series, but also for the unintelligible, uncouth and cynical manner in which their opposition was expressed. That this intellectual nothingism extended to the students they represented was amply demonstrated by the stream of cliché-ridden thrillers and westerns pouring from the television set in the graduate student lounge when productions like *Play of the Week* and special news reports were alternative choices.

Mark A. Haskell
Highland Park, N.J.

Sirs:

Since Mr. William Furlong, in "Those Skilled Barbarians" (March 13) is writing about me, I feel impelled to reply. I have also "endured" an engineering education, which I find more or less useful in the practice of engineering. But I also had my quota of required underclass humanities courses, and also elected several courses in government, political opinion, foreign languages, and philosophy. This sort of exposure was hardly more than typical at Cornell University. The extra length of the five-year engineering program helps explain it.

If Mr. Furlong were more engineer and less renegade, he might find, as I have, that among his colleagues there are as many people interested in and knowledgeable about politics, history, literature, the arts, or any other "liberal" field as he would find in any other lay group. *Anthony H. Perles*
Philadelphia, Pa.

Collegiate Ugly Ducklings

Sirs:

As a teacher of English in a public school, I read Mr. Hertzel's March 6 article, "More Money, More Learning?" with interest. I agree with him completely that more money for public schools does not necessarily mean more learning, and that much of the time and money now spent in high schools on extra-curricular activities should be devoted to teaching that knowledge and skill for which schools have historically been responsible. But if the high school graduate "has little or no knowledge of the realities, accomplishments or excellence of the past," it is apparently in part because the college or university graduates who taught him were able to give him only very limited knowledge.

Mr. Hertzel, like certain other English professors at the University of Minnesota, would probably prefer being caught reading *The Reader's Digest* to admitting that the Education

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Department is a legitimate part of that university. Yet it is a part, a part that has been primarily responsible for the training of thousands of teachers that instruct in public high schools, just as similar departments in other universities, and in colleges, have been responsible for the training of many more thousands of high school teachers. If he is sincerely interested in pointing out weaknesses in our system of public education, Mr. Hertzel might direct his next article toward the weaknesses within the Education Department of the University of Minnesota, or toward those in his own department, since that department, too, has much to do with training certain teachers.

David A. Rykken
Manitowoc, Wisconsin

The Game of War

Sirs:

Mr. Robert Paul Wolff's article, "The Game of War" (February 20) contains a basic confusion about the idea of minimax strategy. Mr. Wolff describes the minimax idea as that of minimizing "the danger of loss while maximizing the possibility of gain." If only such modes of action were generally available! In any but special, artificial situations, one cannot both minimize loss and maximize gain, whatever such a Utopian hope might mean. What standard game theory does is to suppose that, corresponding to a choice of strategy by the two players, each player suffers a loss (where negative loss means gain). For each possible strategy of one player, his loss depends on the other player's strategy, and has a maximum. The minimax principle says that the first player should choose that strategy minimizing the maximum loss.

This concept has been expounded frequently and at many levels. There are serious criticisms of its relevance to reality, *e.g.*, to war, but a writer discussing the serious problems of nuclear warfare should be certain that he understands his fundamental nomenclature.

William Kruskal
Department of Statistics
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

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Birth Control and Catholic Dogma

Sirs:

Regarding TRB's February 20 comments on birth control: He expresses what is probably the typical reaction of the liberal humanist or indeed of almost anyone concerned about the population explosion. "To the outsider . . . it looks as though the Catholic Church were grimly determined on a suicidal policy to help the population explosion, even though it breeds angry elements ripe for Communism." He is understandably exasperated by what he considers a bullheaded adherence to an obsolete rule by a Church, which in some ways he seems to admire.

Unfortunately he doesn't realize the depth of the problem as far as the Church is concerned. For Her teaching on birth control is not a Church law (like abstinence from meat on Friday), but rather a natural law inherent in the nature of men. . . . Her teaching is that the use of any artificial contraceptives or unnatural practices intended to frustrate the primary purpose of the marriage act is immoral. This is not really a doctrine but an interpretation of the nature of man based on religion and philosophy. Intercourse is intended primarily for the procreation of children. On the other hand the Church recognizes two natural techniques as legitimate – abstinence and the rhythm method. The Church, even in its weakest periods, has very seldom argued against control, whether of insects, wars, or people; her argument here is with the means advocated for birth control.

John Kearney
Atchison, Kansas

That "Letter to Your Congressman"

Sirs:

I am a small farmer, and this is the point I wish to raise:

TRB wrote in March 6 issue: "At few times would a letter to a Congressman have had more influence . . . If you want to take part in history instead of just reading it, this is the time. You have to do two things to write a letter. Find the name of your Congressman. Tell him to get humping:"

I know quite well the name of my Congressman. It is Elmer Hoffman. This is the man who has voted 100 percent against any federal aid to anything. This is the man who campaigns, and wins, with the opening statement, "well I kept the niggers out." This is the man who has two gods, and believes in them: (1) Oliver Gargue and (2) Gerald Manders. This is the man you want me to write a letter to, hoping to influence him in getting some of President Kennedy's legislation passed. This is the man that holds the vote in DuPage County until the last moment. In 1956 he held the gubernatorial vote until 7 the following morning, and Strelton won by slim majority.

This is the same man in 1960 who held the Presidential vote until one of his own men, Senator Dirksen went on television demanding he release the count. If he would have held out, Mr. Kennedy might have lost Illinois.

I appreciate your advice and good will but if I write to Elmer Hoffman, I would be reported to the Committee of Un-DuPage Activities, then on to the House of Un-American Activities.

John Iandola
Wheaton, Illinois

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